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SIR J. D. REES

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THE BRITISH EMPIRE

"The experiment must go forward. . . .
We cannot leave it unfinished if we would."
—Sir JOHN SEELEY.

UNIFORM WITH THIS VOLUME

YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY IN CANADA

BY

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL

CAPE COLONY

BY

RT. HON. JOHN XAVIER MERRIMAN

OF CAPE COLONY

MODERN INDIA

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MODERN INDIA

BY

SIR J. D. REES, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P.

SOMETIME ADDITIONAL MEMBER OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA'S COUNCIL, AND TRANSLATOR TO GOVERNMENT IN PERSIAN, HINDUSTANI, TAMIL, AND TELUGU; H. S. ARABIC; RUSSIAN INTERPRETER; MEMBER OF THE ORDER OF ST. STANISLAUS OF RUSSIA; FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS; GOVERNOR OF THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES

AUTHOR OF "THE MAHOMEDANS," "THE REAL INDIA," "THE DUKE OF CLARENCE IN INDIA," "JOURNEY FROM KAZVEEN TO HAMADAN IN NORTH PERSIA," "TOURS IN INDIA," ETC. ETC.

WITH MAP

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DEDICATED

TO

THE ELECTORS OF THE MONTGOMERY BOROUGHS

*

NOTE

"THE experiment must go forward. . . . We cannot leave it unfinished if we would." It is nearly thirty years since Professor Seeley spoke these words of Empire in his great series of lectures on the "Expansion of England." What was only felt then in an emotional way by a comparatively small band of enthusiasts has to-day come home to at least some millions of our people. In Seeley's day the Imperialist was the dreamer; now he is the practical and clear-seeing man of affairs. The reproach that our politicians, our historians, still think of England, not of Greater Britain, as their country has lost much of its sting since those lectures were read at Cambridge by Seeley. No man of information or imagination really supposes to-day that England could whistle off the Colonies and "become again, with perfect comfort to herself, the old, solitary island of Queen Elizabeth's time—'in a great pool a swan's nest.'" That was the strange delusion which arose, as the historian pointed out, not through imagination, but through the want of it.

More every year it becomes the wish, as it is the duty, of every thinking British citizen to be

well informed, not only as to his own particular land, but as to the British Empire as a whole. What can they know of England who only England know? is truer to-day than ever it has been. The Empire, with its tremendous problems of government, defence, trade, and the handling of the coloured races, is a theme of as great and live value as any of the subjects studied at school and college—the classics, English history and geography, science, modern languages, mathematics. We must learn "to think imperially," or perish completely as an empire. The subject cannot any longer be left out of the scheme of study at our schools and universities; and it may well be a subject of home training too.

The educated man of the future is sure to be educated in the glorious subjects of India, Canada, South Africa, Australasia; he will be alive to the true meaning and great import of our position and interests in the Far East, the Mediterranean, the Pacific.

The aim of this series of books, therefore, is to give people, young and old, at home and throughout Greater Britain, a trustworthy, absolutely authentic description of British interests, resources, and life all over the Empire. Each volume will be written by an acknowledged authority on the subject. No regard will be paid to party politics. The questions of Liberalism and Conservatism do not come within the scope of these books; it is only a question of Imperialism.

The idea is to describe the Colony, British possession, or sphere of influence in its natural, commercial, and social features; and the authors will give an account of its rise and growth. "Yesterday and To-Day in Canada," by the Duke of Argyll; "Modern India," by Sir J. D. Rees, M.P.; and "South Africa," by the Right Hon. John Xavier Merriman, of Cape Colony, will be the opening books in the series.

THE EDITORS.

PREFACE

THIS book has been written at the request of the Publishers for their Empire series, and runs upon lines suggested by them. It is, of course, impossible, within the limits of one small volume, to deal in other than a general and comprehensive fashion with any of the great problems which arise in connection with the administration of India. I have endeavoured to touch upon most of the important issues, and if I have done something towards counteracting the exceedingly mischievous, and deplorably unpatriotic, agitation which is directed against our fellow-countrymen in India, I shall be more than satisfied. I served in our Eastern Empire for a quarter of a century, and since retiring as a British Resident, and an Additional Member of the Governor-General's Council, in 1900, have continued in and out of Parliament to serve India to the best of my ability.

J. D. REES.

MONTGOMERY, *May* 1910.

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MODERN INDIA

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL ASPECTS—POPULATION—RELIGION—LANGUAGES—ETHNOLOGY—CASTE

The Indian Empire extends from the Himalayan region of perpetual snow to the burning jungles of Malabar, from the sandy wastes of Baluchistan to the tropical regions of Lower Burma, and beyond to the hills on the Chinese frontier.

In the north, the magnificent range of the Himalayas, of a width from the centre to the plains of the Ganges of 100 miles, and rising in height to 29,000 feet, in the centre, the Vindhyas, and along either coast-line, the Eastern and Western Ghauts, are the most conspicuous mountains, and neither north, south, east, nor west lacks a great river which carries to the sea the abundant rainfall of the monsoons.

Invaders from Central Asia reaching the Indus, which they regarded as a sea, called the country beyond that of the Hindus or Sindus. Hence

India, by which convenient, but totally misleading, appellation we continue to describe the great continent containing one-fifth of the inhabitants of the globe.

The term as generally used now includes all the countries over which the Indian Government rules, up to the borders of Baluchistan, Afghanistan, China, Tibet, and Siam.

Outside the true Indian Peninsula, but in close relations with the Indian Empire, are parts of Baluchistan, Afghanistan—which as a whole comprises 246,000 square miles, of which three-quarters are mountain—Cashmere, the Himalayas, and Burma.

All the invaders of India have come either through Southern Baluchistan and the delta of the Indus, by way of Kandahar to Sind, by way of Ghazni to the Indus, or by Kabul to the Punjab.

From the sandy deserts of Baluchistan northwards runs the border district of the Pathan Highlands, now part of the new North-West Frontier Province, inhabited by wild tribes which form a kind of buffer between Afghanistan proper and British India.

The general impression of India as a hot country is derived from the climatic conditions of the depression of the Ganges, which extends as one broad, regular, alluvial surface from the delta of that river to the delta of the Indus, which is

1800 miles, while the Ganges is 1550 miles, in length.

The western portions of the Indian Empire comprise the great deserts of Baluchistan, Sind, and Rajputana. From the valley of the Ganges to the south the country slopes upwards to Central India, where at an elevation of 2000 feet the climate is cool and pleasant in winter, and bearable in the hot weather. The same may be said of the Central Provinces, with their sacred river the Narbada. Further south again, the Deccan plateau with its wide and stony wolds is more extensive than the low-lying land on either side of it, which is again the hot traditional India.

The Western Ghauts rise to an altitude of 8000 feet in the Nilgiris, which enjoy sub-tropical vegetation, an abundant rainfall, and an altogether admirable climate, nor are the Aneimalei Hills much inferior in height, beauty, and climate to the Nilgiris.

The forests vary widely in character, from the huge trees and impenetrable vegetation of the sub-Himalayan Terai, comparatively sparse and stunted trees of the central highlands, and the dense overgrown jungles of the west coast, which are impassable, except along the tracks made by the only engineers of these wild woods, the elephants.

The flora of India is as varied as its climate, which changes from torrid to arctic, and from the

maximum of aridity to the extreme of humidity. It has, therefore, vegetation of the Oriental, European, African, Tibetan, and Siberian types, and some idea of the variety of flora may be gathered from the fact that India contains 17,000 species of flowering plants and 600 species of ferns, and botanists divide the country into no fewer than sixty-four provinces. Ilex and eugenias smothered in orchids, tall flowering trees as gay as tulips, tree ferns as high as oaks, palms as thick upon the ground as grass, teak lofty, strong, giant-leaved, and fit

"To be the mast
On some great ammiral,"

forests of rhododendrons, counties carpeted with sensitive plants, grass and reeds taller than the tower of the village church, wide plains covered with dreary euphorbia and camel-thorn, endless swamps of tamarisk, such are a few of the countless vegetable phenomena.

Most kinds of men and women are found in India; most, partly from choice, partly from necessity, are practically vegetarians; and food, housing, and clothing are cheap to a degree impossible of comparison with the like conditions in Europe.

British India comprises 1,097,901 and the native States occupy 690,272 square miles, while the population of British India is 232,072,832 and of the native States 61,325,376. Of the provinces Bengal

contains upwards of 50, Eastern Bengal upwards of 30, the Central Provinces upwards of 9 millions, Bombay 18, Burma 10, Madras 38, the Punjab 20, and the United Provinces 47, millions. The native States are less populous, but Hyderabad has 11, and Mysore 5½ millions of inhabitants.

Calcutta, with a population of over a million, is one of the largest, and Bombay one of the most magnificent, cities in the world, and there are thirty-one towns with over 100,000 and fifty-two with over 50,000, inhabitants, but only 29,244,000, or one-tenth of the total population, is urban in character, while 191,692,000 out of 294,361,000 are engaged directly or indirectly in agriculture.

The population has steadily increased in the decade which elapsed between the Census of 1881 and 1891 ; but, notwithstanding frequent expressions of opinion to the contrary, a close examination of the conditions discloses the fact that the continent of India is capable of supporting a far larger number of inhabitants than that which now dwells within its spacious limits.

Of the total population Hindus are 70, Mahomedans 21, Buddhists 3, and Christians 1 per cent. respectively, while the Europeans numbered 169,677 at last Census.

If the death-rate, 38.4 per mille, appears high, it must be remembered that the birth-rate is 48.8, and that Eastern populations will not be born,

and refuse to die, so as to suit themselves to the average figures of Europe.

Of males between 30 and 40 only one in twelve, and of males between 40 and 60 only one in twenty, is unmarried. Of females only one-third are celibate, and of these three-quarters are under the age of ten, while in England two-thirds of both sexes are single. Though their religions allow, the Mahomedan four wives, and the Hindu a second, in cases where the first, spouse is childless, the people of India are practically monogamous, there being only 1011 wives to every 1000 husbands.

Of every thousand of the population, one male in 10, and one female in 144, are literate, and of the great provinces the order of literacy is Burma first, Madras second, Bombay and Bengal, the old undivided province, third. Cochin and Travancore occupy a higher place in respect of education than any province in India proper.

The registration of vital statistics in India is but thirty years old. Fever, chiefly malarial, carries off more victims than plague, the mortality from which is comparatively trifling, the relative figures being 19 to 2 per cent. Nevertheless, in consequence of the inveterate ignorance of India which prevails in Britain, agitators succeed in representing that the population is being carried off wholesale by plague, which they boldly ascribe to the starvation

of the people by the British Government, the fact being, as stated elsewhere, that during seasons of scarcity, for there is no more famine proper, a system of outdoor relief is brought into force, which provides more effectually than that of Britain, that no one shall die of hunger, and in fact it is practically the case that no one does.

The plague mortality in the Punjab in 1908, excluding native States, is given in the most recent returns as 30,708, against 608,685 in 1907, so that this scourge is rapidly diminishing in strength. The death-rate from plague in that province in 1908 was, in fact, no more than 1.53, while that for smallpox was 1.42, per thousand.

Of the peoples of India nearly two-thirds are in one sense or another engaged with agriculture, 52 per cent. being landlords or tenants, 12 per cent. field labourers, and another 9 per cent. more or less directly connected with the land.

About 15 per cent. are maintained by the preparation and supply of material substances, and of these more than one-third make a living by providing food and drink, four millions being occupied in the provision of animal food, chiefly fish, a fact which will be a rude shock to those who think that all India is vegetarian.

Commerce accounts for no more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population.

To such an extent have members of castes

abandoned their traditional occupations that only 11 per cent. of the Brahmins of Madras, and 22 per cent. of the Brahmins of Bombay, follow the calling of priest, even if that term be given a sufficiently wide interpretation to include beggars, students, and astrologers.

Sir Alfred Lyall, who has done more to develop interest in India than any other writer of our day, described it as the land

> "Where deities hover and swarm,
> Like the wild bees heard in the tree-tops or the gusts of a gathering storm."

In the Vedas, the earliest religious books of India, the gods of sky, air, fire, and death are worshipped. The trend of thought was pantheistic, but the idea of one supreme being none the less pervaded the ancient faith.

After the Vedas came the Brahmanas, while the priests were elaborating a religious and philosophic system, which was fairly well developed by 500 B.C., and was reformed by the evolution of Buddhism.

Gautama, subsequently Buddha, grew up in the belief that the object of life should be to avoid being born again, and that man's actions in controlling his passions determined the conditions of his future birth.

When he became Buddha, the enlightened, he

preached that life is vanity, rebirth the result of passions and desires, to be escaped only by right beliefs, right resolutions, right words, acts, and thoughts.

Buddhism prescribes a different way of salvation from Brahmanism. As Dr. Hopkins says, "Knowledge is wisdom to the Brahmins, purity of life to the Buddhists." The latter was a negative and pessimistic creed, the object of which was release from the sinful conditions of mind, which would produce rebirth.

Such as it was it coexisted with Brahmanism for centuries, and exercised upon it a liberalising and humane influence.

In the days of Asoka, 269–232 B.C., it became a state and missionary religion, and subsequently spread to Ceylon, Burma, Siam, China, and Japan, but decay set in from 750 A.D., and at present there are only 300,000 Buddhists in India proper, though there are upwards of 9,000,000 in Burma.

The somewhat similar religion, Jainism, places the sanctity of animal life in the forefront of its tenets to such an extent as to practically overshadow the other articles of the creed. There are still upwards of a million Jains in India.

Of the Hindu gods, Siva and Vishnu are the more important, Brahma having few worshippers. Siva is the destroyer and rebuilder of life; Vishnu is the bright and friendly god, who has visited earth

in a succession of incarnations, the most popular of which are Rama and Krishna.

The Sikhs of the Punjab are monotheists, prohibit idolatry, and denounce caste distinctions. They all wear long hair, short drawers, iron bangles, and steel quoits, and with them tobacco is taboo.

Of modern theistic sects, the Brahmo-Samaj is a kind of Unitarianism, which discards all idolatry, but maintains many of the religious peculiarities and characteristics of the Hindus. The Arya-Samaj, differing but slightly as to creed, has, in fact, become practically a political association, closely connected with the unrest which is manifesting itself in a manner most unfriendly to the British Government in the Punjab and in Upper India.

Animistic beliefs form the real religion of the masses of the people, who worship at shrines, which are mere vermilion-streaked stones in the forest, while trees and the natural features of the landscape appear as symbols of ghostly companies of phantoms, which, dwelling in rocks, trees, and rivers, preside over cholera, smallpox, and other diseases.

Turning to the Mahomedans, who first came to India at the close of the tenth century, the kings and emperors of this faith practised conspicuous tolerance until the reign of Aurangzeb, whose

fanaticism precipitated the break up of the Mogul Empire.

Mahomedanism is a thoroughly democratic creed, and hence the great accessions to its numbers which have taken place in Eastern Bengal, on the Malabar coast, and in other parts of India.

The Parsees, important by their enterprise, wealth, and culture, but not by their numbers, are descendants of emigrants who left Persia when that country adopted Mahomedanism, and they number under 100,000, most of whom belong to Bombay.

Christians number nearly three millions, two and a half millions of whom are native converts, of whom, again, two-thirds are found in Madras, including the native States of Travancore and Cochin. In these States, the most Hindu part of India, Christians are incomparably more numerous in proportion to the population than they are in any other part of the Empire.

Of the native Christians, two-fifths are Roman Catholics, one-ninth belong to the Anglicans, and one-twelfth to the Baptists, while Lutherans, Methodists, and Presbyterians together claim one-tenth of the total sum.

There are few Jews, but two very interesting white and black communities are found at Cochin, where the former claim to have settled

soon after the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem by Titus. They live alongside, but never intermarry or associate with, their black co-religionists. Their women are quite fair, and look, in their surroundings, dazzlingly white. They maintain all the ceremonies of Judaism intact, and keep up a sort of connection with Jerusalem.

Of the total population of India, 294,361,000, Hindus account for 207,147,000, and Mahomedans for 62,458,000. The animists are classified, though probably a large proportion of the Hindus really come under this head, as 8,584,000; the Buddhists, nearly all in Burma, 9,476,000; while Christians are 2,923,000, Sikhs 2,195,339, Jews 18,000, and Parsees only 94,190, though of them, it may well be said, *ponderandi sunt non numerandi.*

Among the Christians, Roman Catholics are 1,202,000, against Anglicans 453,000 and other Protestants 587,000, while the Syrian Christians of Malabar, most interesting people, are 570,000.

The Indian Government has in recent years devoted great attention to increasing its knowledge of the languages of India, which belong to five great families of speech—the Aryan, Dravidian, Munda, Mon-Khmer, and Tibeto-Chinese.

The first family, when brought in contact with them, tends to override or extinguish members of the other four families, and the Aryans, whether they came from the steppes of Southern Russia or

elsewhere, have at any rate played the greatest part in the development of the country.

The Indo-European group include the Iranian or Persian, and the Pushto and Beluch, the languages respectively of Afghanistan and Beluchistan.

Sanskrit had begun to be spoken in India as early as 300 B.C., and survived as the sacred second language, alongside others of the Indo-Aryan type of more or less common origin.

Of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, Hindi or Hindustani is spoken by upwards of 100, and Bengali by upwards of 44, millions. The Persianised form of Hindi is generally described as Urdu. Mahratti is the speech of upwards of 18 millions.

The Hindi form of Hindustani was practically invented at Fort William, was intended for the use of Hindus, and is derived from Urdu by eliminating words of Persian and Arabic origin and substituting for them Sanscrit words or words derived from Sanscrit.

Hindi is generally written in Devanagiri or Sanscrit characters, while in Urdu the Persian letters are employed.

In the fact that out of $44\frac{1}{2}$ millions who speak Bengali, $44\frac{1}{4}$ millions inhabit Bengal, Eastern Bengal, and Assam, is found such justification as exists for the agitation against the division of

the old province of Bengal into two Lieutenant-Governorships, whereby it is of course in no way prejudiced, but to this extent advantaged that two Lieutenant-Governors with their staffs are devoted to the administration of the affairs of 80 millions of Bengalis, instead of one officer of that rank. The laws administered and the character of the administration and of the administrators, and for the most part even the personnel of the latter, are of course unchanged.

Of the Dravidian languages, Tamil spoken by 16, Kanarese by 10, and Telugu by 20 millions, are the chief varieties, but these are of course separate, and indeed highly developed and scientific tongues, Tamil in particular possessing considerable literature of high merit and originality.

Malayalam, an offshoot of Tamil, is spoken by six millions of dwellers upon the coast of Malabar.

The Munda languages are superlatively agglutinative, and are spoken in Chota Nagpur and the surrounding country, and in the Central Provinces. However valuable from a linguistic point of view, it will pay no one but officers stationed among the people, or scholars, to be at the pains to acquire these tongues.

The Indo-Chinese languages include Tibeto-Chinese and Mon Khmer. They are usually monosyllabic in character, and the peoples who

speak them came originally from North-West China.

Burmese is the vernacular of upwards of seven millions, and there are, it is calculated, in all, no less than 145 distinct languages spoken in the Indian Empire.

The Sanscrit word for caste means colour, and colour as a general rule, with many and large exceptions, is a fair test of caste, light brown, wheat-coloured, and bamboo people generally being of higher caste than those of dark colour. All, however, have black or deep brown, straight and never fuzzy hair, and all have dark brown eyes, such as are usually described as black. Next to colour, probably the nose is the greatest caste indicator, those who have this organ broad or flat generally belonging to the lower classes.

The chief types of the inhabitants are Indo-Aryan, Scytho-Dravidian, Hindustani, Bengali, Mongoloid, and Dravidian. Such do not admit of very sharp definition, but as from time immemorial immigrants have crossed from East to West, and from North to South, representatives of the Indo-Aryan type have spread themselves all over India, remaining always on the top social stratum.

Authorities are much less positive now than when Max Müller wrote about the Aryan race, and no one really knows whence it came, or very much about it. It is, however, pretty well agreed

that the Indo-Aryan type is not Indian in its origin, and it is surmised that it came from Persia before that country, Afghanistan, and Central Asia became so dry, desolate, and barren as they now are.

Later, when tribal immigration was succeeded by the immigration of bands of warriors, women no longer accompanied the invaders, who subsequently, whatever their race, whether Greek, Scythian, Arab, Afghan, or Mogul, became absorbed into the native population.

Thus the Indo-Aryan type, comparatively pure in the Punjab and Rajputana, becomes mixed with Dravidian blood in Hindustan and Behar, and almost vanishes in the Mongol strain in Lower Bengal, east of which Chinese influence begins to assert itself.

The word caste originated with the Portuguese who arrived with Vasco da Gama, and is derived from a Latin word, *castus*, signifying purity of blood; as Horace says, "Populus castus verecundusque."

A caste is a collection of families or groups claiming common descent from one ancestor, and following, or professing to follow, the same occupation, and all over India at the present moment tribes are being converted into castes, because of the greater consideration attached to membership of such guilds.

Castes are divided into tribal, occupational, and

sectarian types, as well as into castes formed by migration, and by change of customs, and castes of the national type such as the Mahrattas, who played such an important part in Indian history just before our supremacy was established, and who are now taking an exceedingly active, though not so openly acknowledged, attitude of hostility towards our rule. That is to say, not the Mahrattas generally, but the leading Brahmins, who have settled in the Mahratta country and exercise a very considerable influence amongst the cultivators, who are the bulk of the race or tribe.

The classification of castes presents, as might be expected, peculiar difficulties, and the sensible principle was adopted in the Census of 1901 of classification by social precedence as recognised by native public opinion.

This system, of course, does not allow of one classification for the whole of India, which includes many countries in which particular castes do not exist, or, when they do exist, possess different social values. In all parts, however, the Brahmins head the list, and it is their influence which inspires the advanced reform party from which arises the unrest now manifested in India. Again, the traditional position of the Kshatriyas as second, and of the Vaisyas or merchants as third in rank, is generally maintained.

But the different classes of the Sudras are

extremely difficult to place, their position depending upon the extent to which Brahmins and members of the upper castes will or will not take water from their hands.

In Cochin people of certain castes are held to pollute their high-caste brethren, if the relationship be allowed, as it is not in India, at distances ranging from sixty-four to twenty-four feet.

The beef-eating pariah is at the bottom of the list of the unclean. But so minute are the grades that precedence in some cases depends upon whether the village barber will shave, cut toe-nails, and take part in marriage ceremonies, or whether he will only perform one or more of these functions.

In Burma there is no caste, nor, of course, within the fold of Islam, wherein in sight of God and Mahomet all followers of God and Mahomet are equal. Nevertheless there are grades of distinction, in proportion as the Mahomedan is near to the Arab, Persian, Afghan, or Mogul; and amongst the extremely numerous Mahomedans descended from Hindu converts the influence of the original caste is still very strong.

It is suggested by the latest writers on the origin of the institution that the priestly caste borrowed from the neighbouring country of Persia the traditional division of mankind into four classes, of which they themselves were necessarily first.

The complete admixture of the conquerors from

the West with the conquered races in India was prevented by the fact that the former only took women from, and never gave women to, the latter. There has, however, been no little amalgamation, and it is calculated that there are at present no less than 2400 castes and tribes.

CHAPTER II

WILD LIFE

INDIA, the Paradise of the big game shooter, naturally abounds in various species of animal life. The fauna of the coastal regions of Malabar and Burma differ in all respects from the denizens of the deserts of Rajputana, Sind, and the Punjab, and wide indeed is the range and infinite the difference between the homes of the greater carnivora, the bison and the elephant, and those of the ibex and antelope. The lion, which hardly pretends in India to be the king of animals, is now almost extinct, though a few remain in Kathiawar, but tigers are still fairly plentiful, though they have greatly diminished in numbers owing to the action of the British Government in granting indiscriminate rewards for their destruction.

Amongst tigers, man-eaters are rare and conspicuous exceptions, the present mortality on this score being three or four men in a million. The diet of the ordinary tiger consists chiefly of those animals—deer, antelope, and wild pig—which prey upon and destroy the crops of the cultivators,

who form about 70 per cent. of the population, so that their benefactors are the benefactors of the greatest number of the inhabitants. Nor is the tiger really in any respect the enemy of man, whom, on the contrary, he shuns with extraordinary solicitude. The native shikari, or game-killer, who lives upon the Government rewards, naturally prefers to kill the useful and comparatively common deer-stalker before the rare and dangerous man-eater, and thus it is that the Indian administration connives at, and encourages, the destruction of one of its most useful auxiliaries.

It is the easiest thing in the world to fill an old gun with slugs and miscellaneous contents, and to sit up in a safe place in a tree, over one of the few ponds at which the greater carnivora come from long distances to drink during the hot weather.

The perpetrator of this simple feat receives for each skin produced at the local authority's office thirty rupees, or £2, upon which he can live for a year. It is not suggested, of course, that rewards should not be given for man-eaters, who are easily distinguishable from their harmless brethren. This may seem a strange statement; but every tiger is a personage and well known to the local villagers, and the man-eater, who is as rare among tigers as the murderer among men, is far more easily tracked by the villagers affected by his depredations than an assassin is by the police in Europe.

Of course the cattle-lifter costs something for his keep. Nevertheless, he earns it many times over in what he saves the villagers.

There are districts, no doubt, in which tigers develop especially malevolent dispositions, and in the Sunderbunds they cannot be trusted.

Many authorities, including Mr. Lydekkar and Mr. Reginald Gilbert, have expressed opinions similar to those here enunciated, and the writer has several times brought the matter before the India Office, and also the House of Commons, which, however, of all audiences, is most difficult to convince that stock and conventional ideas about India are in fact, as such ideas almost always are, utterly erroneous. The natives of India habitually class or confound tigers with leopards and panthers, which are less notorious and more numerous; and there are, of course, other varieties of the cat family, from the great tiger down to the harmless and necessary domestic specimen. Amongst other carnivora are the hyena, a ghoulish resurrectionist and eater of carrion, wolves, and dogs of different kinds, including wild dogs, exceptionally intelligent creatures, which exhibit extraordinary powers of organisation for the pursuit of game, and from a pack of which hardly any animal can escape. Then there are the golden dog, the jackal (*canis aureus*), useful as a scavenger, but as a serenader the most unpopular of his class, foxes of different kinds, otters, often

captured and used as auxiliaries by fishermen, and bears, which sometimes inspire terror, but oftener laughter.

In spite of their scientific classification, bears prefer fruit and sweets, and never touch butcher's meat, though fond of a dish of white ants as a savoury. Needless to say, they love honey, and seem able to defy the bees with the same impunity as the hill-man, who will plunge his arm deep into the hole in the tree containing the comb.

Amongst mammals the monkeys are perhaps the most numerous, from the hoolook, a charming immigrant, who will take a man's hand in confiding fashion if startled by a dog or other enemy, to the common bandar (*macacus*), or monkey folk of Kipling's tales, which almost any sportsman could supplement with stories of his own experience. They are chiefly vegetarian, but like cows are not particular what they eat, and refuse very little that comes their way. They are full of intelligence, mimicry, and humour, and will repay observation. Most jungle lovers find them very amusing company. Not only are they very human in their habits, but they occupy a most distinguished place in Indian mythology in consequence of the high position and reputation of the monkey chief Hanuman, who aided Rama in his expedition to Ceylon for the recovery of his ravished wife from Ravana, which epic can be read with great pleasure and profit

done into admirable English by Miss Frederika Macdonald.

In the forests of Assam, Malabar, and elsewhere, the lordly elephant, undisputed king of the jungle, still reigns supreme; but though possessed of giant strength he never uses it unless attacked, or unless he finds some foreign or unfriendly substance like mankind twixt the wind and his nobility, when, unlike other wild animals, he is very likely to charge down upon the intruder, who in dense jungle has very little chance of escape. Were it not that the sight of elephants is most defective it would be almost impossible to stalk them, and in the long reeds and grass, in which they live, a man is as helpless and as incapable of movement as a fly in a spider's web. As it is, there is no sport so dangerous as stalking elephants, for the biggest of beasts is almost invisible in his brown, not black, coat, which melts imperceptibly into the surrounding dried grass, neutral rock, and yellow herbage. It is only in captivity that the elephant is as black as brush and oil bottle can make him.

Indeed it is quite easy for the stalker to stumble on to the beast's hindquarters in picking his way through the forest, and unless he is tearing down branches to eat, bubbling, bathing, or bolting, no creature can be more silent than the earth-shaker. Moreover, the elephant cannot be killed except at very close quarters; the ear-hole, where the bone

is thin, is extremely small, and it is quite possible to fill with lead the great dome of bone at the top of his head without doing more than giving him a headache and making him with very good reason, poor beast, exceedingly angry.

To segregate a warrantable bull from the herd is also very difficult, and while the former is the objective of the hunter, he himself is often the objective of a suspicious cow, who scents danger to her offspring, and will hunt him down all day. The tall forest trees, frequently running up to a great height before they throw out any branches, are not negotiable, a small tree is not secure, and the writer of these pages has been charged in such an one by an infuriated cow, and knocked out of it on to the ground. The spectacle of a herd of elephants living in dense forests, in whose dark recesses they avoid the heat of the sun, in which they travel by paths made by themselves as they move, in which they enjoy their favourite food, with a swamp on one side for a bath, and a grassy hill on the other for pasture, gives extraordinary pleasure and is one of the most idyllic possible. It produces in the intruder a feeling that it is positively wicked to penetrate, with murderous intent, the deep interior of the wood, or to sit treacherously near the swamp, or on the hillside, in order to destroy the harmless leviathan, who asks nothing but to be let alone.

In a herd, when undisturbed, the cows keep together with their calves at heel, the little ones imitating their mothers' actions by filling their trunks with water and spouting fountains over their backs, by wallowing in the mud, or playing pull devil pull baker with their trunks. It is, however, only the calves who behave in this way, for adult, middle-aged, and old elephants are conspicuous for their grave and dignified demeanour. Few sportsmen care to kill many of this distinguished species, or can contemplate without mixed feelings the ivory tusks torn from the venerable head.

Lying prostrate on the grass, the big beast recalls the line of Homer—

κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί.

Once slain he enjoys the same sepulchre as the Parsee, and legions of vultures feed upon his vast carcase, which none the less takes a long time before it is resolved into its primal elements. The elephant who is permitted to die a natural death is dignified and considerate to the end, and no one can discover the inaccessible spot he chooses for his final dissolution.

The rhinoceros is found in Assam and the Nepal Terai, the tapir in Burma, and the wild buffalo continues to exist in Bengal, Assam, and the wild country on the outskirts of the Central Provinces, but to find it spells fever.

The heads are identical with those of the domestic species, and finer specimens can nowhere be found than among the herds of the pastoral Todas of the Nilgiris.

These singular people, a veritable race enigma, are but 800 in number, and their lives are largely devoted to the care of their buffaloes, which it is hardly too much to say they worship. The dairy is a temple, the milk an offering, and the slaughter of buffaloes the chief characteristic of a great funeral, which, as in the case of the burial of a Mahomedan at the shrine of the holy Imams, may be postponed till long after the actual decease. The extent to which the cult of the buffalo enters into their lives may be judged from one of their prayers, which runs as follows :—

"May it be well, may my buffaloes have calves, may I have children, may my calves have milk and may they not be kicked away by their mothers. May I and my buffaloes be free from disease, may no outsiders come to disturb me."

Similar instances of animal worship may of course be instanced on all sides, and it is not too much to say that the cow is adored from one end to another of India.

The rhinoceros must not be confounded with the hippopotamus, or river horse, for the former is not an amphibious animal, though he chiefly haunts the neighbourhood of rivers and swamps. He is a

slow and stupid creature, but uncertain of temper, and sufficiently dangerous when roused. Like the elephant, next after which he is the largest mammal, he has wretched sight, and like him he depends, even more than other animals, on his sense of smell. Cases are reported, but not very well authenticated, of a rhinoceros having vanquished an elephant in a pitched battle; but, beast for beast, the latter is the master of the pair.

The bison (*bos gaurus*) is in many respects the most magnificent animal found in India. Good specimens stand sometimes nineteen hands in height, and their horns run to a length of three feet, and are from eighteen to twenty inches round the base. Notwithstanding their bulky and massive bodies, their feet and legs are almost as delicate and beautiful as those of a deer.

Like the tiger, the bison is the subject of unceasing warfare, and unless the Government takes steps to preserve this magnificent animal, it will in no long time become extinct.

The ibex and the wild goat offer the best of sport, but the latter is of course a wholly different animal from the true ibex.

There are no less than 1617 species of birds in India, and many of them are a great feature of life in the forests, where their gorgeous plumage glitters under quivering shafts of sunlight, while the less brilliant creatures, like sparrows, crows, and kites,

are in constant evidence in the towns and villages. Crows are extraordinarily bold, and will carry toast off the table at which a human being is breakfasting if his attention be for a moment diverted. It is evidently for his impudence that the common crow was given the epithet of *splendens*, to which he is legally entitled.

Green parrots flash from tree to tree in the woods, pigeons and doves coo in the tree-tops, and sand-grouse, pea-fowl, jungle-fowl, partridge, plover, snipe, quail, and here and there in the hill country, woodcock, in different parts of the continent offer good shooting. It is, however, dangerous to shoot pea-fowl or pigeon in the neighbourhood of temples, of which they often are held to be sacred appanages.

Gulls and tern swarm on the sea-shore and in the back-waters, pelicans and cormorants are found inland, and storm petrels on waters which are subject to terrific cyclones.

The ibis, though less sacred, is as common in India as in Egypt, and amongst the specimens of the heron family are white egrets and pond herons or paddy-birds, which like many others are persecuted for their plumage.

The imperial eagle of India is less warlike than is usually supposed, and never defends its nest from a robber. Indeed, smaller members of the feathered tribe have much stouter hearts,

however much men, whose feet are chained to the earth, may admire the noble bird,

> "With its pride and ample pinion,
> Sailing with supreme dominion
> Through the azure deeps of air."

The keenness of vision, however, of the eagle and vulture cannot be exaggerated, and every sportsman knows how quickly the carcase of a deer, even when drawn under cover immediately after it is killed in the open, becomes the prey of a flock of vultures, of whom not one could previously be seen by the human eye in the cloudless expanse of sky commanded from heights of many thousand feet above the level of the sea.

The eagle, of course, is not a carrion feeder, and holds, like the bird in the Russian fable, that a day on which life is supported by fresh food is worth a year in which carrion is consumed.

Vultures are bigger than eagles, and it is pretty certain that there are no authenticated instances of either bird having attacked a grown man.

The spectacle of a flock of vultures consuming the carcase of a deer, hissing and striking at one another with their beaks, and gorging themselves with the bleeding flesh, is gruesome in the extreme, and one not readily forgotten. Eagles, however, are not found gathered together where the carcase is, and, so far as is known to the writer of these

lines, are never seen in flocks, though he has often come across them in the high Indian hills and heard their slight if "stormy scream as they sweep by."

The Government of Lord Curzon prohibited the export of feathers from India, and efforts are made to prohibit the import of feathers into this country, the result of which will merely be to transfer the trade from Britain to France and other Continental countries.

The proper remedy is to have a close season for plumage and game-birds in India and other British possessions, though no doubt the adoption of this remedy is beset with certain difficulties, into which it is unnecessary here to enter.

Teal and water-fowl of various kinds and duck and geese are common, but swans, white as well as black, are rather rare.

The reptiles of India are far more destructive than the wild beasts, snakes alone killing more people than all the wild beasts put together.

They include the python, sluggish, and to human beings practically harmless, the deadly cobra and the hamadryad, or king of cobras, a truly awe-inspiring reptile, running to upwards of twelve feet in length, which, however, chiefly attacks and consumes its own kind, the poisonous krait, and the Russell's viper, exceedingly dangerous because it is loath to move out of the way of an approaching wayfarer, and is apparently quite deaf.

Crocodiles are common and fully deserve Spencer's epithets of cruel and crafty, though liberties may be taken with them at the experimenter's risk. So like the sand are they that it is easy to walk unconsciously right up to them as they sun themselves on sandy banks or "in the covert of the reed and fens." They are as silent as they are cruel and crafty, and no one would think who saw their eyes and nose just visible above the stream, that they are capable of pulling into the water and killing so bulky a beast as a rhinoceros. The crocodile's teeth are, indeed, in the words of Job, "terrible roundabout," but though "his scales are his pride, and one is so near to another that no air can come between them," an express bullet will find a ready entry, though the probability is that the reptile will be able to slip into the adjacent water. His heart is as hard as a piece of the nether millstone, and many a man while bathing he carries off, and many wives and maidens with their pitchers at the river fall victims to his crafty and silent tactics.

Turtles and tortoises offer soup and shells, the lizard tribe flourish, and are a harmless and a useful fly-eating race. Nor are there wanting myriads of frogs and toads, legions of newts, and at least one kind of salamander.

The Indian seas contain enough fish to feed

all the inhabitants of the land, the larger number of which are in no way debarred by caste scruples from this diet. Indeed, the lower classes have no objection to animal food whenever it offers at sufficiently low prices, and provided, except in the case of the most degraded, it is not beef. Sharks are numerous and fierce. Saw-fish, pike, and sword-fish, sea-horses, hedgehogs, stingrays, devil-fish, eels, cat-fish, different carps, mahseer, the Indian salmon running to 60 and 80 lbs., the hilsa of Bengal, an estimable fish which furnishes the breakfast tables of Calcutta, perch, mullet, bream, mackerel, tunny-fish, and the excellent seer, are amongst the better known species found in fresh and salt water.

Efforts are being made at present to systematically work steam trawlers, the fish caught by which would be cured and dispersed all over the country, but they have not yet been crowned with success.

Many books might be written about the insects of India, commonly called Puchi Gichi, the Indian equivalent of bugs and beetles, the protective form and colouring of many of which are of surpassing interest. It is indeed impossible to distinguish certain butterflies and other insects from their surroundings, even though they are watched, when alighting on the substance, the appearance of which they so closely imitate.

The relations between flowers and insects again make up another fascinating aspect of jungle life. Certain insects, for instance, would die had they not figs, in which to deposit their eggs and spend their lives, and there are other fruits no less popular than figs.

Certain flowers would fade away and wither without the particular insect, whose intervention in each case is absolutely necessary to insure the production of seeds in sufficient numbers to provide for the continued existence of the species they favour.

The forests of Burma and the Malabar coast are amongst the most luxuriant in the Indian Empire, and those who frequent them soon learn to regard the beast inhabitants, great and small, as the legitimate and lawful landlords.

Love of forest life soon takes a firm hold of those who frequent the green aisles, roofed over with boughs, through which little shafts of sunlight penetrate by day, and the moon throws a cool white gleam by night.

The hill tribes have a proper awe of, and reverence for, the home of the earth spirits, tusked giants, silent cats, the invisible voice folk, the spectral hunter, and other ghosts, goblins, and demons of the forest.

Strangers must not expect hillmen to take them right up to big game, unless they have some

local reputation, for the forest dwellers are unarmed, they know better what the danger is, and they can always cough by accident at the critical moment, or lead the sportsman astray.

According to jungle lore, tigers and crocodiles are forbidden to kill human beings, and every time one of them slays a man it breaks one of the great laws imposed upon the animal world, every member of which knows quite well what it may and what it may not do. The deer may eat grass, the tiger deer, and the crocodile fish, but no animal may wantonly attack mankind without being branded as an outcast. There is an infinite store of legend of this character, a vast field for inquiry and observation, and the forest officer and the sportsman may well say—

> "Fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestes
> Panaque, Silvanum que senem, nymphasque sorores,"

and what man in such a situation has not often repeated to himself another line from the same "landscape-lover, lord of language"—

> "Flumina amem sylvasque."

CHAPTER III

GAME PRESERVATION AND FOREST RESERVATION

THROUGHOUT his service in India the writer of these pages has been interested in the preservation of game, and when a member of the Governor-General's Council, representing the Madras Government upon that body, he endeavoured to bring forward a measure for the protection of game and plumage birds. The difficulties were, however, held at that time to be insuperable, chiefly owing to the fact that such an enactment would deprive certain tribes and classes of their only means of livelihood. Efforts indeed are made to prevent the wholesale destruction of useful and beautiful feathered creatures by prohibiting the sale of game birds as food in cantonments and municipal towns, where some such steps can by law be taken, but these measures are no more effectual than the protection afforded to wild birds in England in so far as it depends on the action of County Councils.

Until a close season is provided by law for game and plumage birds, little can be done to remedy an admitted evil.

It is by no means certain that the administrative prohibition of the export of feathers from India, which dates from Lord Curzon's day, will be maintained, nor is it satisfactorily established that such a measure is fair to those who are engaged in what is after all a legitimate trade, and might be carried on without objection, if the birds with which it is concerned enjoyed a close time, such as birds of game enjoy in this country.

In the native States of Travancore and Cochin, in which the writer had the honour to be British Resident, elephants are wisely and efficiently protected, as indeed they are in British India, but protection is needed everywhere for the bison, the wild goat, and indeed for game of every description, as well as for the tigers, which are being rapidly exterminated in some parts of the country, to the detriment of the agriculturists, to whom they are such good friends, as well as to the discredit of the Government, which puts a premium upon the destruction of useful allies.

Formerly any one who pleased, without any kind of permission or acknowledgment, shot in the forests of the native States, and in any forests in British India, though reserved forests are now closed to shooting, as well as to all unregulated entry.

In Kashmir an efficient game preservation department was first formed, and there licences

have to be taken out, and regulations for sportsmen are annually published.

Some localities are strictly preserved for the use of the Maharajah, others as sanctuaries, and the number of head of each kind of game which sportsmen may shoot is strictly limited, as is the number of license-holders permitted to visit each locality during the year.

The officer in charge of game preservation has under him a sufficient and efficient staff, and the receipts for licences just about suffice to cover the expenditure.

It was the constant effort of the author to introduce some such organised system of preservation into certain native States, but no little difficulty arises from the fact that European planters regard the right to shoot everything as a prerogative of their position, while every hillman is a born poacher. It does appear, moreover, to be the case that where State-reserved forests exist, preservation of game can be far more efficiently carried on in such areas under Forest Acts than under game laws, which seem as difficult of enforcement in India as elsewhere, and are no doubt, in parts of the continent at any rate, a novel, and therefore an unwelcome, experiment to the people.

In a reserved forest the Government has complete powers, and once a forest is proclaimed as

such, it becomes impossible for sportsmen to force an entry, and uninvited shoot and make use of the bungalows provided by the State for their own servants or for such persons as are given permission to use them. It is, however, somewhat difficult to declare a tract reserved forest solely in order to enforce game laws, and the need for the latter laws exists notwithstanding the powers possessed by Governments of British India and of native States under their forest legislation. Nevertheless a good deal of effective preservation and regulated shooting is now carried on in Government reserves.

In Upper India shooting and pig-sticking are strictly preserved by the ruling chiefs, and an invitation or permission to indulge in such sport is highly valued. No one would there think of trespassing upon preserves, an act which the public opinion of all classes would condemn. In Southern India, however, the rights of the ruling chiefs in this behalf have been much less carefully safeguarded, and it is by no means uncommon for travellers to enjoy good sport in a forest within the limits of Cochin or Travancore, without themselves being aware that they owe it to the hospitality of the enlightened princes who rule over these beautiful States.

Game preservation is by no means needed in the interests of the sportsman alone, or in deference to the undoubted rights of the power,

whether British or native, in which resides the sovereign right to the forests and waste lands. The cultivators who dwell within or around tracts in which big game abounds, benefit by wise and temperate protection of animals, whose flesh they rarely consume, and are no way dependent upon, but in pursuit of which rich men visit their districts, spending money right and left in a manner to them as unprecedented as it is grateful. It is, however, incumbent upon sportsmen to see that payment is actually made to the proper recipients, and that funds disbursed for this purpose are not appropriated by some middleman. The army of coolies who follow every camp are sufficiently sophisticated to see that they get paid, but the genuine hillmen are credulous, timid, and easily defrauded of their dues. Elephants are troublesome and destructive, but the cultivators can exercise the right of self-defence, or call in a sportsman to help; bison do no harm to life or property; deer and pig can be kept down with the help of the friendly tiger.

Misunderstanding and misconception are rife in regard to the habits, customs, and lethal qualities of the wild animals and reptiles in India. The fact that upwards of 20,000 persons are reported to die annually of snake-bite is really a testimony to the great moderation of the snakes, which abound in a country in which hundreds of millions walk about barefooted in the dark.

Thanatophidia swarm in the thickets of bamboo and croton, in the bushes which abut on to the back-gardens of village huts, in the back-gardens themselves, under the thatched roofs, and in holes, cracks, and crevices in the ground. In some localities cobras are encouraged to live around the houses, and are fed with milk; and where tree and serpent worship still lingers, a good snake-garden, with the accompanying idol, is regarded as an attractive feature of a detached residence. In and round such huts and houses, gardens, compounds, and enclosures, men, women, and children walk barefooted, and never, unless it is actually cornered, frightened beyond measure, or really hurt, does the snake turn to bite. Such members of the tribe as are dull of hearing, and are for that reason more frequently trodden on or disturbed, naturally assert the privilege of self-preservation, but all who can, get out of the way of human beings. Mistakes must sometimes happen in the dark, as the occupants of the houses lie stretched on the floor, or in the verandah, or recline on low bedsteads, whence the limbs depend to the floor.

The Government of India offered rewards for the destruction of poisonous snakes, with the result that snake-charmers and others bred them in large numbers, so that the authorities practically gave a bounty for the encouragement of a new industry, which, however great their anxiety to

bring about a diversity of occupations, they had no desire to see established.

For the European, booted and noisy of tread, snakes have no terrors, and a sportsman may spend his life in India and never meet any more deadly specimen than the fresh-water snake which wriggles harmlessly out of his way as he splashes through the shallows in the rice-fields in search of snipe, and disgorges the half-swallowed frog in its haste to avoid the intruder.

Nor, indeed, are nearly all the deaths attributed to snake-bite due to that cause, but to domestic tragedies, quarrels, and riots, resulting in an inconvenient corpse, which has in some way or other to be explained away to the satisfaction of an intrusive official.

The hillmen provide a most interesting study for the anthropologist and sportsman. In spite of, or perhaps because of, their simplicity, their expressions are often most interesting and original. One such, a head-man, announced the birth of a son, destined to become a little axeman and forest clearer, thus: "Last night the leaves of the forest trembled, and the trees cried, 'Now in the near future, thousands of us must bow our heads.'"

Some carry on a wasteful hill cultivation, cutting down the forest, cultivating for a year or two, forsaking their clearings, and repeating annually the same destructive tactics. Others descend

precipices, armed with torches, to smoke out the bees and purloin their honey. A rope is suspended over the giddy crest, and it does not speak highly for the tribal conception of fraternal love, that no brother is allowed to hold the rope, for the survivor of a family would inherit the possessions, including the wife, of the deceased.

The children of the jungle are by no means so unsophisticated as they appear, and when a question of boundaries arises they have a very fair idea of the value of their evidence regarding hitherto unvalued peaks situated in the primeval forests. The sportsman is absolutely dependent on their guidance, and but for their help might spend the night in the forest eaten by leeches, perhaps within calling distance of his camp.

There is about them a charming simplicity, and though fond of spirits, they will, when in company, decline a second glass, on the ground that it makes them drunk. They are similarly conscientious about cigars, and when a crowd of beaters are given one apiece, if by accident a second is offered to an individual who has already received his share, he will unroll the first given from his cloth rather than take another on false pretences.

Elephants are, as has been already stated, protected, and only when proclaimed and proscribed as criminals by Government may they be killed.

As a matter of fact they are very mischievous creatures, and destroy crops and even dwellings of the peasants wholesale whenever they leave, as they often do, the recesses of the forest and march to the margin of cultivation. Nothing by law provided prevents the villagers from proceeding to actual hostilities by way of retaliation when the big beasts are found in the act of destroying their property; but they are not easily caught, as every one knows who has spent months, perhaps in successive years, in endeavouring to find a good bull and in segregating him from the herd.

Permission to shoot elephants is never given in British India, and rarely in native States, though the British Resident is a privileged individual, and can generally arrange to be the executioner of a proclaimed rogue—that is to say, an elephant condemned for having committed murder, or having caused great damage to property.

Considerable risks are generally run in stalking such intelligent creatures as elephants, and it may be the fate of a sportsman, as it has been of the writer, to be followed all day, and finally to narrowly escape with his life.

Bison never do any one any harm, and are far too shy to approach cultivation. They are therefore specially worthy of protection.

The policy of offering rewards for the killing of wild beasts may easily be carried so far as to

interfere with the balance of Nature, and just as owls and other birds, which are on the whole far more beneficial than harmful to game preservation, are often ruthlessly exterminated by gamekeepers in Britain, so there is great danger lest beasts which serve a useful purpose in Nature's scheme should be altogether destroyed in India to the detriment of the agriculturist, and to the infinite lessening of the amenities of that most delightful of all lives, a life spent in the jungle, as a friend and not a foe to its interesting inhabitants.

Of course life in the forest is not all joy. There is, for instance, a large and particularly venomous hornet which attacks the passer-by with the ferocity generally, but, as has been shown above, unjustly, attributed to the tiger. A bite from one of these pests will cause the sufferer all the pains of earache, faceache, toothache, headache, and neuralgia combined.

Another terror of the jungle is a harmless-looking plant, under every leaf of which are millions of filaments of a kind of thistledown, the sting of which is extremely poisonous, and the presence of which in the throat is intensely disagreeable.

It is not at all improbable that something more might be done to restrain destruction of wild beasts, by imposing an export duty on skins; but what is really wanted is protection for the

particular beast in itself as a member of an individual species. The bison, for instance, should be saved, because of its beauty, rarity, and harmlessness, and also because it is kin to the—in India—sacred cow. The so-called ibex, really South Indian goat, was protected in this manner on the Nilgiris, and there seems no particular reason why such game preservation as is there practised should not be extended over other sparsely populated portions of the continent in which game is found. The bison is, to use the language of the great Indian epic, the "Ramayana," the "very pearl of ruminant creatures," and that it should be slaughtered, as it has been, to be converted into that unclean product, leather, is enough to call down a judgment upon the heads of the guilty administrators of modern India.

CHAPTER IV

FOUNDATION OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT

In Fort St. George, founded in 1639, the traveller may see, perhaps better than anywhere else in India, under what conditions our forefathers lived in the seventeenth century. The old fortress remains much as it was when French and English fought for it, and the Madrassees do not forget its historic precedence.

It was not till sixty years after its foundation that the bigot Aurangzeb, in whose hands the Mogul Empire was already crumbling, gave a site on the Hoogly to the traders of Bengal, who maintained their position, without an army, because of Britain's might at sea. And Britain now holds India by virtue of her fleet, without which it would be impossible to maintain the white army in the country; and it was by sea that all Europeans came to India, just as all Mahomedan invaders came by land.

The Portuguese tried to discover a direct route over the water, whereby they could avoid the transit duties levied by the Sultan for the passage

through the Red Sea and Egypt, and Vasco da Gama had doubled the Cape and anchored at Calicut two hundred years before Europeans settled in Calcutta.

The Portuguese power, however, fell to pieces, while the Portuguese and Spanish Crowns were united, and the Dutch destroyed the monopoly of Portugal, though their own objective was Amboyna and Batavia. The Danes had two insignificant settlements, eventually sold to England in 1845, and the French became, in the middle of the eighteenth century, our only serious competitors. In the middle of the eighteenth century they took Madras, which, however, was restored to Britain by the Peace of Aix la Chapelle, 1748, and then ensued the real fight for India between Dupleix and, on our side, Stringer Lawrence and Clive. The fame of the former commander, though he is buried in Westminster Abbey, has been obscured by another of the many inaccuracies of Macaulay, who altogether ignores the senior officer. True, Clive's brilliant defence of Arcot took place during Lawrence's absence in England, but the latter returned to India in March 1752, and held the chief command till the recall of Dupleix in 1754. True, Clive was present at Trichinopoly when Law surrendered to Lawrence in June 1752, but almost immediately afterwards he was invalided to Madras, and left for England in November, not returning

until October 1755, after an absence of three years.

It was during these three years that Trichinopoly was invested by the French, when so much fighting took place under Lawrence; but Macaulay ignores all this and gives the credit of everything to Clive, who as a fact was not present at Bahoor or at any subsequent contests with the French in Southern India.

The glory of Lord Clive is so great that it is in no way impaired by rendering due homage to the merits and services of his commanding officer, which Clive himself would have been the very first to render.

Coote, too, the conqueror of Lally, who was regarded by his own sepoys as almost a demi-god, should not be forgotten; but it was, none the less, Clive who, just a hundred years before the Mutiny, at the battle of Plassey, had brought Bengal under the English yoke. He also, by restoring Oudh to the Mogul's lieutenant, and virtually independent, Vizier, obtained in return the fiscal administration of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, wherein the system of dual management obtained from that time till Warren Hastings abandoned it, and sold to the Nawab of Oudh the kingdom, which Clive had only nominally, and through the Vizier, restored to the Great Mogul. This transaction was perfectly legitimate, because in the interval the Mahrattas

had seized the Mogul Emperor's person, and Hastings properly held that, though the British might acknowledge the representative of the dynasty, it could not properly recognise the robber Mahratta chief who had made himself Mayor of the Palace.

Then ensued a period of confusion and anarchy, during which the Mahratta power was divided between its chiefs, the Peshwa at Poona, the Bonsla Rajah at Nagpur, Sindhia at Gwalior, Holkar at Indore, and the Gaekwar at Baroda. These, or at any given time one of these, held the Great Mogul as a pawn and a puppet till, in the second Mahratta War, the British broke their power and established themselves as protectors of the Emperor's person, and of the Empire.

The third Mahratta War brought about the defeat of Holkar and the fourth laid low the Peshwa, who was deposed and pensioned at Bithoor, where he left an adopted son, who subsequently became infamous under the designation of Nana Sahib, a name with which the seditious malcontents of India have lately learnt to conjure. The time was now past for the Mahrattas to compete with the English, and in 1780 and 1790, while we were waging war with Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo, they and the Nizam co-operated with the British, and compelled the latter prince to cede half his dominions, which the allies divided amongst themselves.

Within ten years Tippoo was crushed by Lord Wellesley, who had succeeded Cornwallis and Shore, and Lord Hastings had in turn to wage a difficult, desultory, and distracting warfare against the Pindaris, the flotsam and jetsam of dismembered India—

"Who took to the Hills of Milwa, and the free Pindari life."

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the British, their guardian angel forsaking them, determined to replace the capable and popular Ameer of Afghanistan, Dost Mahomed, by the fugitive Shah Shuja, but the Afghans, in bitter resentment, killed our Envoys, Sir Alexander Burnes and Sir William Macnaghten, and annihilated the army of occupation, a disaster which was avenged by Generals Pollock and Sale in 1842.

Before this, in 1824 to 1826, the first Burmese War had been fought by Lord Amherst, who added Assam, Aracan, and Tenasserim to the Company's territory, and in 1842 was waged the first, or what is commonly called the opium, war with China, in consequence of which Hongkong was ceded to Great Britain, and Shanghai was opened to British trade. Three years afterwards Lord Hardinge conducted the first Sikh War, at the conclusion of which the country between the Sutlej and the Ravee was annexed, an acquisition to which Lord Dalhousie, by the Second Sikh and Burmese Wars, shortly added the rest of the Punjab, Oudh, Satara,

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Jhansi, Nagpur, and a considerable part of what is now the Province of Burma.

Dalhousie, great as a conqueror, was also great as an administrator, and it was he who introduced cheap postage, constructed roads and canals, and inaugurated, what has developed into the educational system of the present day.

Lord Canning was constrained to make war with Persia, took Herat, sometimes called the key of India, and fought the second Chinese War, following upon which the rights of trade were conceded to England, America, and all European powers. Then was our uninterrupted career of conquest broken by the Mutiny, to describe which there is neither need nor space in these pages.

As a result India was transferred to the Crown, and Field-Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood, who already had distinguished himself in those troublous times, writes that the rising against us was due in large measure to well meant but mistaken attempts to govern, in accordance with the systems prevailing in the United Kingdom, millions of Asiatics, as numerous as all the peoples of Europe, and of as many different religions.

But while these pages are being printed, the advanced and disaffected party in India are putting forth all the pressure, which capable intriguers can exert, to induce the Government to proceed further along the same path, as to taking or refusing which

the option is not now open as it was in the pre-Mutiny epoch.

Since the great rebellion was quelled, we have had no further difficulty with the native troops in India, who have proved themselves, as indeed to a great extent they did in the Mutiny, faithful and loyal servants of the British Crown. Afghanistan, on the other hand, has again and again proved itself to be a storm centre. Lord Lawrence (1864–1868) acknowledged Sher Ali, son of Dost Mahomed, as Ameer, and during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton (1872–1876) it was discovered that Sher Ali had received an Envoy from Russia. As he refused to entertain a Mission we sent to him in 1878, war was declared, and he was defeated by Lord Roberts, who placed his son Yakub Khan on the throne.

Within a short time the British Resident, Sir Louis Cavagnari, was assassinated, Yakub Khan abdicated, and Abdul Rahman, the late Ameer, was recognised by Lord Ripon as sole ruler of Afghanistan.

To Lord Ripon, whose efforts to prematurely introduce local self-government after the British pattern resulted in much trouble and friction, succeeded Lord Dufferin (1884–1888), whose Viceroyalty was chiefly remarkable for the third Burmese War, as the result of which King Thebaw was defeated and deposed, and Upper Burma, the

latest acquisition, but for Chitral, was annexed to the Empire.

To Lord Elgin, in whose Viceroyalty occurred the most serious and widespread tribal frontier war with which we have had to deal, succeeded Lord Curzon, of whose Viceroyalty perhaps the policy pursued on the Western and North-Western Frontier of India is the most prominent feature. It is now admitted that there is little doubt that the delimitation of the spheres of British and Afghan influence under the Durand Convention led the tribesmen to suspect that their independence was threatened, and so contributed to the almost general tribal rising, the operations dealing with which are commonly known as the Tirah Campaign.

Our own responsibilities were largely increased by the Durand Convention, for when once interference with tribes beyond our own administrative frontier is recognised as a responsibility, there is no definite limit to which such responsibility may not extend.

The peace and prosperity of our Empire in India are affected by the action of the tribes between it and Afghanistan, and also by the action of Afghanistan, and of Persia still further to the west. Indeed our sphere of influence extends beyond Persia itself, well into Turkish Arabia. It is true that at this time the Anglo-Russian Convention had not been concluded, that admirable agreement

which, however faulty as regards our own position in Southern Persia, has now preserved the independence of that ancient monarchy, and has relieved us from serious responsibility elsewhere.

The good faith of Russia has been triumphantly proved throughout the recent Revolution in Persia, and at the same time the wisdom of the statesmen concerned in negotiating this invaluable instrument. But an additional reason for congratulation may be found in the fact that the present internal condition of India suggests the desirability of limiting as far as possible our expenditure beyond, and being fully prepared to deal promptly and firmly with trouble within, its limits.

Few acquainted with the circumstances can doubt that Lord Curzon acted wisely in insisting on the creation of the North-West Frontier Province, and he proved also a vigilant and jealous guardian of British interests in the Arabian Sea, where France, with whom we have now happily no difficulties, contemplated a coaling station at Muscat, in the Persian Gulf, where the Porte endeavoured to extend Turkish influence over the Hadramut, and at Koweit, which little territory will become of great importance when the Baghdad Railway at length reaches the Gulf.

The financial condition of India during Lord Curzon's term of office was highly satisfactory, and admitted of reductions in, and remissions of,

taxation. It is in such halcyon days that legislative experiments become possible, and Lord Curzon's Government passed accordingly an Act for further regulating the immigration of coolie labour from India proper into Assam.

Authorities differ as to the necessity for the protection of such labour, and the coolies themselves show their appreciation of the treatment they receive at the hands of the planters by settling wholesale in Assam, greatly to the advantage of that backward province. The natives of India are by no means sheep who are easily driven in any direction, they know quite well what is good for them, and as the planters, to whom the country owes so much, desire to have free labour in Assam such as already prevails in Ceylon, and have recently made representations to this effect, it is sincerely to be hoped that the coolies from other parts of India will be allowed to emigrate freely to Assam, and not be protected to their own disadvantage. Of this there is always a great danger whenever machinery exists and waits to be brought into use.

Seasons of scarcity were not wanting in Lord Curzon's day, and the treatment of the affected tracts and of the distressed people was successful in a very high degree. Indeed the Famine Prevention Code is now one of the most scientific and practical administrative instruments ever invented,

and during the last and exceedingly severe crop failure which occurred in the Upper Provinces during the Viceroyalty of Lord Minto, only eleven deaths could be directly traced to starvation, or the one-thirtieth part of a man per million of the population of India.

Indeed this system of outdoor relief is as perfect in our Eastern Empire as it is imperfect in the British Isles, where Labour members of Parliament clamour for the same rate of payment from the State, for the unemployed, as is given under ordinary circumstances by private employers.

The Indian system always fixes the relief rates at something lower than the ordinary rates of wages, by which obvious and necessary precaution all fear of malingering and of the creation of professional unemployed, and all waste of the tax-payers' money, are effectually obviated.

It is unfortunate that the use of the word famine still conveys the impression in England that the people are starving, whereas the figures of those upon relief during times of scarcity only include persons prevented by the action of the State from experiencing the natural result of unnaturally high prices following upon a succession of abnormal seasons.

Nor, while the active and persistent campaign of malevolent misrepresentation in this and in other respects of the British Government continues to be

prosecuted, is there much prospect that the wonderful administrative successes of our fellow-countrymen in India will ever obtain the recognition they deserve.

It is owing to the railways, of course, that the Government can deal successfully with the results of crop failure, but the above-mentioned critics nevertheless condemn railway extension because it is necessarily effected by means of British capital, lent, it must be said, on extremely favourable terms to a country which cannot raise the capital itself, and they cry aloud for irrigation, ignoring the fact that 22,225,000 acres have been irrigated at a cost of £32,500,000 by the British Government, and that a Special Commission with an eminent engineer at its head has reported that at the utmost the Government can only irrigate between three and four million additional acres by an outlay of eight or nine million sterling.

It would be hopeless to ask of critics, the measure of whose judgment is the extent of their malevolence, that they should remember that unless a reasonable return can be obtained on money invested, the expenditure of taxes collected from all, cannot be justified upon works designed for the benefit of the comparatively few.

It will always be remembered to the credit of Lord Curzon's Government that the prompt despatch of troops to South Africa saved the situation at the outset of what proved, contrary

to expectation, to be a difficult, and on several occasions almost a disastrous, campaign.

Lord Minto, who has been spared external warfare, has had more trouble from internal unrest than any one of his predecessors since Lord Canning. He has been singularly fortunate in having at the India Office in Lord Morley a Secretary of State who, while anxious to go as far as possible to meet the legitimate aspirations of a class we ourselves have created, is no less determined to deal firmly with sedition, and has more than supported every step taken or proposed to be taken by the Government of India to enforce the law, preserve order, and punish crime.

CHAPTER V

ECONOMICS—TRADE—TAXATION—EMIGRATION—INDUSTRIES

It is the fate of India to be misrepresented in every sphere, whenever she comes within the range of British politics.

Year after year the Secretary of State, always a prominent politician, and sometimes, as at present, in the very forefront of British statesmen, himself presents, and if not in the House of Commons, but represented, as at the present moment, by a capable Under-Secretary, through him presents, a satisfactory account of his stewardship, and year after year there ensues a debate exhibiting in some quarters the most deplorably ignorant or malevolent misrepresentation of British Indian administration. All this is duly discounted at home, but it does its work abroad and in India.

Treatises by Bradlaugh, Digby, Dadabhai Naoroji, and historians of the like calibre, deal with the so-called "drain" to England, which the Master of Elibank in August 1909, on the authority of Lord Morley, stated to be £23,900,000 a year, a sum made up of £21,200,000, the average amount

of Government, and £2,700,000 of private, remittances.

This total may be compared with the £70,000,000 of these writers, and of the other hostile critics of British Indian administration.

The Government remittance is made up of interest on loan £9,500,000, payment for stores which cannot be produced in India, and only such as cannot, are obtained from this country, £2,500,000, pension and furlough pay to civil and military officers, £5,000,000, and miscellaneous, £1,250,000.

It is apparent, after deducting the amount for pensions and furlough pay, that the bulk of this so-called "drain" represents interest for railway and other developments absolutely necessary to India, and, hitherto at any rate, not provided for by Indian capital.

As regards the pretended commercial drain of forty millions, the difference between other than Government remittances from India and to India is just £2,700,000, while the capital outlay on railways alone amounts to £265,000,000, to which no doubt another eighty or ninety millions will be added before the stage is reached at which a halt may be called.

These authoritative figures for the years 1904, 1905, and 1906 should be sufficient to explode the loose and inaccurate statements put forward with the political object of proving that England is

ruining India by lending her money—at extremely favourable rates—for the execution of absolutely necessary works.

Charges, moreover, are made against the Government that they rackrent rural India. Sir William Hunter is misquoted as a witness to this effect, and from a wise and humane minute by the late Lord Salisbury, four words only are wrested from their context, "India must be bled." Lord Salisbury's object was to spare the agriculturist as much as possible, and such too is evidently the object of Lord Morley

As to the home charges generally, without them there could, of course, be no British Government in India, for they include interest on loans and allowances for Englishmen who have spent their lives and health in the country.

The excess of exports over imports is regarded as another sign that India is bleeding to death, notwithstanding the fact that a similar phenomenon is manifested in some of the most prosperous countries of modern times, whilst in England approaching ruin is foretold because imports exceed exports.

The United States and Argentina, wherein exports exceed imports by 74 and 15 millions respectively, are in the very van of contemporaneous prosperity, while Persia, Turkey, and China, which show an excess of imports over exports, are not exactly ideal commercial States.

Everything which is exported from India is of course paid for in commodities of which the country stands in need, and capital which is imported is obtained at about one-quarter of the lowest rates of interest at which it would be obtainable, so far as it would be at all obtainable, in India.

If India ceased to export so largely she would be obtaining less in return, and her people would proportionately suffer. After all it is they who get the goods, and all the raw products for export are produced from Indian sources and with Indian money.

If India's excess of grain, which exists even in times of the most widespread failure of crops, were not exported, there would be less money to come in to the country for value exported, and it is money that is needed, money to pay for grain, not grain to be bought, of which there is always enough and to spare. India pays no tribute to Britain, and her prosperity now, and salvation in the future, depend in no small measure on the development of the industries which she owes to British initiative, such as tea planting, in regard to which faddists and theorists endeavour in vain to persuade the coolies that they are underpaid and ill-treated.

It would appear that when men travel long distances for work, and having got it and served their time, settle down in the country of their adoption, they have not been underpaid and are not dissatisfied. Nevertheless there are few places in the

world where labour cannot be incited by agitators to ask for more, and there are some countries in which the process has reached a point at which capital can no longer be remuneratively employed.

The critics of the Indian Government and of the economic conditions, in the evolution of which it has at least had a share, offer no alternative system, except the further employment of Babus and B.A.'s, whose salaries are to be provided by taxes drawn from the industrious cultivator, who has no liking for, and no faith in, these classes which from time immemorial have regarded him as mere material to be squeezed. It does not even occur to writers of this kind that the best hope for India lies in developing her resources, in encouraging new industries, such as tea planting, already distributing vast sums in comparatively high wages, cotton and jute mills, gold and coal mining.

While the bleeding India school assert that India is becoming less prosperous because the prices of Indian staples have not risen, the Congress party cry out because wages have not advanced in equal measure with the rise in prices, which has of course occurred ; and while they dwell upon that fact they conceal another, equally relevant, that wages have risen even more than prices.

It is usual with such critics to make elaborate and entirely fanciful comparisons of the condition of the natives of India with that of the natives of

European States, wholly ignoring the fact that the standard of comparison for one, should be found in another, Oriental, and not in an European, country.

In fact, if the average Russian has an income ten times greater than that of the average Indian peasant, his board, lodging, and clothing cost him more than ten times as much, so that relatively he is in a less satisfactory position. Again, the fact that Indian labour takes toll of all the by no means excessive profits of British capitalists is overlooked, nor do hostile and ill-informed critics care to remember British legislation for the protection of tenants from landlords and money-lenders, the extension of irrigation, the establishment of agricultural and co-operative credit, and the industrial eminence of Bombay, Cawnpore, and other great Indian cities.

Nor has any one yet explained why, if land is grievously over-assessed by the Government, rent is so much higher than the Government assessment.

It is noteworthy that writers who have furnished ammunition for the critics of British rule are invariably men with no knowledge of rural life in India: Mr. Bradlaugh, a professional atheistical lecturer and politician; Mr. Digby, a journalist; Mr. Naoroji, a Parsee, who spent his life in England, and knew no more of India than a clerk in London.

It is also noteworthy that the one civil servant, Sir William Hunter, whose writings can, even when

perverted and misquoted, only to an extremely limited extent, lend colour to the Congress case, was a man talented and industrious, but one the greater part of whose official life was spent in England. He had, indeed, less experience of India than almost any member of his service.

Precise definition and accuracy of statement are not now expected of critics of British Indian administration, and by them the land revenue is habitually referred to as taxation, as they conveniently, but hardly in good faith, ignore the fact that where land is held directly from Government taxes include rent, so that land tax in India should be compared with tax plus rent in this country, an elementary consideration which reduces nine-tenths of their diatribes to absolute nonsense.

The transparently false statement is made on all hands that England has ruined Indian trade. Now that is true as regards certain particular trades, but it is also true that she has endowed India with many new industries more than she has destroyed, and has created her very considerable dealings with foreign nations, for Indian trade in ante-British days was a mere bagatelle compared to what it is at the present time.

Nothing can exceed the unscrupulous misrepresentation to which the Government of India is exposed alike in regard to its commercial and its land revenue policy. Its land system, which hostile

native critics condemn, is no invention of the British, but was inherited from their predecessors in title the Moguls, whose Brahmin ministers invented it, and it has existed under every Government that has ruled India, so far as we have any record of their rule, differing in no whit in principle, but widely in respect of its incidence, which has been enormously and progressively reduced.

For the permanent settlement the British Government is no doubt responsible, but the transformation of farmers of the land tax into landlords paying a fixed proportion of their assets to the State, which the Bengali Babus and landlords extol, and which they unnecessarily fear the Government may cancel, is not a successful experiment, and at any rate it is certain that the British Government has had to intervene to protect the actual cultivator from the rapacity of landlords of their own creation. Yet these very landlords, in no small degree, provide the funds for the agitations, which British Members of Parliament support in the belief that they are taking up the cause of the people of India!

The fear that this system may be abandoned, and that direct relations between the State and the cultivator may be renewed in Bengal, accounts, for the most part, for the fact that many of the Bengal landlords subscribe to the agitation engineered by Bengali Babus and Deccani Brahmins.

Under the permanent settlement, the exceptionally fertile province of Bengal, though blessed above other parts of India with means of communication and with a monopoly of the production of jute, does not by any means possess an exceptionally prosperous peasantry. Critics of British rule devote themselves, therefore, to the temporarily settled districts in which the cultivator holds directly from the State, and from which provinces very little is collected for their war-chest. Somehow they shall pay, is the judgment of the agitators.

In the temporarily settled districts the land-holders pay revenue to Government, whether they cultivate themselves or through rent-paying tenants, and in such cases the Government of India places a limit upon the rent they may demand. Nevertheless these land-holders, of the classes, though natives of India, have not been found over ready to co-operate with the State in limiting their own powers for the benefit of their tenants, of the masses.

What the State takes from the landlord as its share, under the immemorial Indian system of divided ownership, becomes ways and means to be expended for the benefit of the country in general, and there can be no object in reducing payments, for the benefit of the landlord, to the detriment of the tenant and the masses.

It is only another proof what children the so-called "friends of India" in England are, in the

hands of the Indian agitators, that the latter have actually persuaded the former that the Government of India should abandon their rights, taxes to which they are entitled, which are levied from the landlords and spent on the cultivators, the inevitable result of which would be that only the upper classes would be spared, and the lower classes would be further taxed to make up the deficiency. What infinite depth of irony, of political ignorance lurks in the fact that a Labour M.P. like Mr. Keir Hardie condemns the Government of India for exacting from the landlord a comparatively large share, and for limiting by law his claim to more than a comparatively small share of the produce of the labours of the agriculturist.

In the temporarily settled districts in which the peasant proprietor pays directly to the State, of which Madras, Bombay, and Burma are the best examples, critics of the administration have actually suggested that rates should be enforced which are very much higher than those now levied.

Indeed, those who in this country are under the spell of the subtle-minded and nimble-witted Indian agitators little realise that their mentors are entirely representative of the privileged classes, and that the money with which they carry on their propaganda is found by high-caste landlords and wealthy lawyers belonging exclusively to the aristocracy of birth, wealth, or intellect.

The landlords, whose case the Labour members all unconsciously espouse, would no doubt prefer to have their share of contribution to the expenses of the State reduced.

The Master of Elibank lately stated in the House of Commons that 50 per cent. is the general standard for the ratio of land revenue to the landlords' income from the land in the areas where landlords exist, and the actual proportion more often falls below than exceeds this standard, and the cesses amount to not more than 4 to 6 per cent. of the landlords' income. In calculating the rates of incidence of the revenue on the gross produce, the danger of over-valuation in the matter of crop out-turn is guarded against by excluding from the calculation of crop yield the produce of all double or second crops, of all non-food crops, such as sugar-cane, cotton, &c., which are usually more valuable than the staple food-crops, and of the very valuable garden produce. These safeguards clearly make for a crop valuation under rather than over the actual yield, so that the percentage levied by the State is less than would be inferred from the actual figures of incidence of land revenue on gross produce generally given by the Government, viz. from 5 to 15 per cent. in most parts of India, rising in certain wholly exceptional cases to 20 per cent., figures it must always be remembered including the equivalent of English rent, as well as the equivalent of English

land tax. Moreover, the ryotwari or peasant proprietor can throw up the whole or part of his holding whenever he pleases, and it is customary for such an one to take up land in good, and to abandon it in bad, seasons, so that on the average the assessment actually paid to Government over vast tracts does not exceed a penny, though the nominal tax is seldom below fourpence, an acre.

The Famine Commission presided over by Lord, then Sir Antony, MacDonell, no sworn friend of the privileged classes, reported that the Government assessment was distinctly moderate, and did not press hardly on the resources of the cultivator.

Few read the Mahomedan chronicles, which in default of anything else do duty for history in India, but such as do, must regard with wonder the audacity of the statement that famines are more frequent and disastrous under British rule than in former times, when it was no uncommon thing for more than half the population of the affected area to be swept off the face of the earth, and when the humane and civilised inhabitants were driven to the expedient of eating human flesh; and when Brahmins were constrained by starvation to devour dogs —from an Indian point of view, an even more terrible proof of unfathomable misery.

The India Office, the Government of India, and the Hakluyt Society have rescued from oblivion

contemporary records which throw a flood of light on the past in India, and should be read by all those who accept as trustworthy the fabricated statements prepared by political agitators for public consumption.

It is a singular circumstance, illustrating the exigencies of agitation, that Mr. R. C. Dutt should make the transparently inaccurate statement that "the soil was private property in India, as amongst all other civilised nations," nor will the Socialist friends in Great Britain of the agitators in India altogether approve of the dictum that the existence of private property in land is the chief test of civilisation. Then the death-rate is said to have increased in our time, the fact being that no statistics exist with the help of which comparison can be made before 1872, the date of the first Census, following upon which, in 1880, the statistical department was created in Calcutta.

Nevertheless, figures of monumental absurdity and transparent error are so frequently repeated that at last, from sheer weariness, they gain a current value, and some normal and ideal death-rate is assumed for India, far lower than that which obtained at the same time in Western countries.

Any stick is good enough for a certain purpose, and the actions of self-governing colonies which, being independent, naturally assert their right to

choose their own company, is now being pressed into the service of the agitators as a grievance of great force or of great value. The question of the emigration of coolies from India to South Africa, the Pacific Coast, and elsewhere is not a particularly serious one from an Indian point of view, though it raises an Imperial issue of the first magnitude, and, in spite of what agitators may say, emigrating Indians are quite prepared to adopt the customs of the country to which they go, if let alone. The idea of world or of empire citizenship has never yet materialised in the Indian mind, the notion of social or political equality is unknown in the country of their origin, and they attach little value to gaining a franchise, which they have never possessed. However that may be, foreign countries and our own colonies will have their way in this matter, and it is as impossible, as it would be unbecoming, for the British Government to attempt to impose upon others free trade principles in respect of labour, which, in fact, it never does, and in this country never will, enforce.

Under the existing system unskilled labourers from India have been emigrating to Natal for employment as agriculturists and as miners, till some 30,000 have been absorbed, and are working under indentures, not only without complaint, but to their own profit and satisfaction. There is also

in Natal a large population, which is called free, of British Indians, upwards of 50,000 in number, not working under indentures, though many of them are indentured labourers who have served their time and settled in the country, or the descendants of such persons. It is this latter class which is so unpopular in Natal that the Government of the colony has taken strong measures to prevent an increase in their numbers. The Government of India resented these measures and, in retaliation, declined to facilitate the emigration of labourers to the colony till the laws affecting the free Indians were modified. In other South African colonies no system of indentured Indian labour obtains, but in all such opposition to the immigration of free Indians is manifested, and particularly in the Transvaal, so that the Government of India declined to establish a system of indentured emigration to that colony. The Home Government, to some extent, and probably as far as it could, supported the Indian Administration in its effort to get better terms for free Indian subjects in South Africa ; but the fact is that self-governing colonies will not submit to dictation in matters vitally affecting their own interests, that South Africa is as much entitled to its own way in regard to this problem as is Australia, and that any effort to force Asiatic immigrants upon white populations must necessarily end in defeat if not in disaster.

British labour protects itself and obtains protective legislation, and the British colonies will protect their white labour from coloured competition, be the colour of the competitor black, brown, or yellow.

A great danger lurks in the sentimental view taken of this subject, and there is no proof whatever that the peoples of India have devoted the slightest attention to it, though certain meetings have been arranged, and resolutions telegraphed to England, such as can be manufactured wholesale in regard to any issue in which any agitator takes sufficient interest and sufficient trouble. If natives of India do not like the laws in force among the natives of other countries they need not visit those countries, and, though this may be a hardship, it is absolutely certain that no white race will ever accept political equality with coloured races, until the latter have supplanted the former as the governing peoples of the world.

It is impossible for the Government to reconcile its own attitude in England towards labour with condemnation of the action of the self-governing colonies, and to the credit of the present administration it did not attempt to interfere with the colonial attitude in the South Africa Bill, though copious lip-service to unsustainable ideals was rendered in all quarters of the House of Commons.

It would be as easy for Members of Parliament elected as free traders to justify their support of the movement in India for rigorously boycotting all the manufactures of their constituents, as for the British Government, which passes special legislation to favour trades unions in this country, to enforce equality between white, brown, and black in Africa. The true Svadeshi, or home-produce policy, is that which the Government of India and the India Office have long practised, and which Lord Morley has recently extended, strengthened, and confirmed.

There should be a great future for India, for her textile industries, for her gold, silver, copper, brass, iron, and wood, her pottery and tanning, dyeing and leather-work, cane and bamboo, for carving and embroidery, for sugar-refining, tobacco-curing, for oil and flour mills, and for other diverse occupations.

At present the raw material for many of these industries is exported from India to different countries, whence it returns in the shape of manufactured goods to the place of origin, wherein, nevertheless, there is no lack of cheap fuel and labour.

Why should India export oil seed and import oil? Why does she grow sufficient cotton for herself, export most of it, and yet get back manufactured cotton to the tune of half of all her imports? Why, one of the greatest sugar producers in the world, does she import sugar to the value of millions sterling?

Again, the Indian craftsman is a superlatively effective workman in wood and ivory, an excellent blacksmith, and a shoemaker who might almost come up to the Chinese standard. There are no better weavers in the world. They can mine for diamonds and precious stones, and they can find, in their forests, timber fit for the masts of a great ship and for the making of a match-box.

Skins abound alongside tanning material, dyeing materials grow close to cotton and jute, fibres are a drug in the market.

In textile industries India is destined to compete with European and other Asiatic countries, and it is little wonder that she looks with a jealous eye upon factory legislation, which will limit her output without raising wages or rendering more happy and contented the wage-earners, who have not complained and have little need to complain of present conditions.

Nothing could be more odious to an Oriental than a day plotted out in the fashion laid down by our Factory Acts. They have no objection to a long day, provided they are not driven and can go as they please; nor can uniform regulations be properly imposed upon a vast continent, containing every kind of climatic and other conditions, as they can upon a little island, in the centre of which the operative can, by no great stretch of the

imagination, hear the sounding of the sea on all sides as he performs his daily duty.

Mining has fortunately experienced little interference in India; hence it is that the Mysore goldfields have produced upwards of thirty millions of the precious metal, and are still pursuing a vigorous and prosperous career. Here, on the pleasant uplands of Mysore, without any special laws, and without the help of any Government inspectors, a model labour settlement grew up, to the exceeding benefit of the native State in which it is situated, and, in only a slightly less degree, to the neighbouring Presidency of Madras. The number of persons employed in the mines consists approximately of 530 Europeans, 330 Eurasians, and 27,430 natives, who, with their families and dependants, make up a total population of about 80,000, a large proportion of whom are provided with house accommodation by the mining companies, chiefly under the management of Messrs. John Taylor & Sons, at nominal rentals. The scale of pay is liberal, free medical treatment is provided for all, and the employees appreciate the conditions of service in the mines, and are contented and happy.

At the present time operations are being conducted by six British companies, whose combined capital is £1,530,000, valued on the home market at £6,000,000.

The conditions of an artisan's life in India are probably more pleasant than those of a mechanic in England; but he produces much less per head, because the industrial system of India does not provide for that division of labour which is universal in Europe. The Indian labouring classes are not dependent on the rate of wages, because each man works on his own account, and, besides supplying the labour himself, also undertakes the risks of production. In Europe, on the other hand, he is generally a hired man working for an employer.

It would appear, therefore, that not only in regard to land, but in regard to labour, the natives of India, whom the Socialists describe as downtrodden and oppressed creatures, more nearly approach their own ideals than they do themselves, though it may be a fault in them that they, too, are capitalists after their own degree. Nor is it true, to expose another fallacy, that the Indian peasant is more indebted than his brother in Europe, for both borrow according to their capacity and not according to their need.

With their, to us, peculiar industrial organisation the peoples in India can, of course, never compete with the inhabitants of countries wherein the wage-earners work under the direction of employers, instead of taking the risks of production upon their own shoulders; whereas in India every artisan is a capitalist whether or not

he has capital, and there is great waste for want of co-operation.

His wants, however, are so small, compared with those of his brother in Europe, that his comparatively paltry earnings suffice for his modest needs. Thrifty he is not, and the greater margin which lower taxes allow him only serves to enhance his credit and increase his indebtedness. Everything differs from its European counterpart, and tranquillity and comfort, not the acquisition of high wages, are the lodestars of Indian life.

One thing is certain: the further development of this vast and varied continent depends chiefly on the continued provision of British capital, and agitators are scaring British capital away, and keeping Indian savings in the stocking or in the hole in the ground. The Government at the present day does good work under difficulties; but it has recently created a Department of Commerce and Industry, and has done something to help the tea industry and to improve the banking system. Cable rates, also, have been reduced, wages have increased by 50 per cent. within a generation, and standards of living have notably and conspicuously risen. In some respects our Eastern Empire compares favourably with our own island, for the average profit on investments in land is admitted by the Congress journals to be 6 per cent., a rate which we would gladly see, but

which, indeed, there is little prospect that we ever shall see, in these islands.

Cheap carriage for coal, of which there is plenty in the Empire, is an urgent industrial need, but India has yet to learn and appreciate the use of this great industrial agent.

The development of the vast resources of India, the establishment of greater industries with more machinery, and the subsidising of cottage manufactures, offer an almost illimitable field.

The railways, jute and cotton mills, tea-gardens, gold and coal mines, employ only a million and a half of the masses of the agriculturists, and more of this class should, if possible, though in what way it is hard to say, be diverted to other employments.

One thing is certain, that Government interference with labour, or with the domestic habits and prejudices of the people, can only delay progress and result in disaster.

Closely connected with the economic condition of the people is the question of irrigation. Irrigation works for which capital accounts are kept paid 8.65 per cent. on the outlay in 1906–7, a sure proof, as are the railway returns, that India profits enormously by the expenditure within her limits of money chiefly borrowed on easy terms in England and unobtainable elsewhere. The estimated value of the crops raised was about £35,500,000, or

nearly 109 per cent. of the capital outlay expended upon the twenty-two millions of acres irrigated.

There were in 1898 in India 225 cotton-mills, 45 jute, 6 woollen, and 9 paper, mills, and breweries producing upwards of $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions of gallons a year. There were in all 1922 joint stock companies, the output of coal amounted to upwards of eleven millions of tons, and there were over 30,000 miles of railway working, the average return on the capital expenditure on which was 5.85 per cent. in 1907, as against $3\frac{1}{4}$, in England.

A Bill is now before the Governor-General's Legislative Council which provides for a reduction in the hours of labour in textile factories, which sometimes extended to fifteen hours a day or more, to a day not exceeding twelve hours, deals drastically with serious abuses that existed in connection with the employment of children, and gives power to Local Governments to apply its provisions to other factories if necessary. Direct restriction on the hours of labour was recommended by the Committee of 1906 and by a minority report of the subsequent Commission, the majority of which proposed to attain the same end by indirect means.

It is true, of course, that in the East labour is not organised as it is in Britain and is not continuous but intermittent and spasmodic, but it is calculated that a large number of operatives are likely to lose their employment by the introduction of the shortened

hours, and the abolition of shifts, which is almost certain to follow, seeing that a 13½-hour day is quite the maximum possible. This loss of labour has been roughly estimated at about one-sixth, or in other words, some 35,000 mill-workers will perhaps be thrown out of employment. When this legislation is firmly established there will doubtless be a further extension of mills, the erection of which will tend to absorb all superfluous labour, but meanwhile the possibility of this wholesale dismissal is the one serious practical objection to the proposed legislation. As a matter of fact it cannot be said with any truth that the operatives have been in any degree overworked, for the actual hours of labour put in by any of them on time wage seldom exceeded eleven hours, though of course the piece-workers put in as much work as they liked to make money for themselves. Besides this fact there were the casual and regular holidays so freely taken, that they reduced the average hours of labour year in and year out to quite a moderate quantity. At the same time there has always been a certain amount of discontent at the nominally long hours during which the mill engines worked, and there was always the temptation for the more avaricious mill-owners rather to exceed moderation, if it were possible, so that it is not altogether unreasonable that their ardour and energy should be restrained by law.

The total value of imports and exports in 1907–8,

the latter exceeding the former by about $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, was £241,000,000. The United Kingdom is the chief importer from India, and next after the United Kingdom come Germany, the United States, China, and France. The chief imports into India are manufactured yarns and textile fabrics, manufactured metals, machinery, railway plant, and articles of food and drink, while the chief exports are raw materials, articles of food and drink, and yarns and textile fabrics wholly or partially manufactured. The chief articles of British produce exported to India are cotton manufactures, cotton yarn, iron and ironwork and machinery, and the chief crops raised in the country are rice, wheat, and other cereals, cotton and oil seeds, while smaller areas are given to valuable products like tea, indigo, and tobacco.

CHAPTER VI

ARMY—ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONVENTION

A comparatively old story was revived when Lord Curzon, during the Session of 1909, resuscitated in Parliament the differences between himself and Lord Kitchener concerning the administration of military affairs in India, which led to his own resignation of the office of Viceroy.

The Military Department had, till Lord Kitchener's arrival, been in the hands of a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, who was always a soldier of distinction. He was adviser to the Viceroy on all military questions, and the Commander-in-Chief, who was also appointed, as a matter of course, Extraordinary Member of the Executive Council, was responsible for discipline, promotion, mobilisation, and other functions necessarily appertaining to the head of the army, any proposals he had to make in this capacity coming before the Governor-General in Council, through the Military Member and the Military Department.

Lord Kitchener was by no means the first

Commander-in-Chief to object to this system, and he desired to create a department dealing with military administration in every branch, of which the Commander-in-Chief should be the head.

Lord Curzon, however, with the support, it should not be forgotten, of the Members of his Council, held that in this event all military authority would be concentrated in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, whereby the supreme control of the Civil Power over the army would be lost.

The Secretary of State, Lord Midleton, was willing to retain the Military Member of Council, but in a position in which Lord Curzon thought he would not be able to tender independent advice upon military matters, in which case the Governor-General in Council would be left without expert aid to face the Commander-in-Chief reinforced with largely increased powers.

Lord Curzon also thought that the Member for Military Supply, as the new occupant of the old office on the new footing was to be called, should be an officer whom the Government considered fit to be their general adviser in military matters.

It was hard for the Government of India to object to a reform which had been approved by a Committee of which two ex-Commanders-in-Chief in India, Lord Roberts and Sir George White, were members, but they had no liking for the change, and desired to appoint an officer of whom the

Cabinet at home did not approve, for the simple reason that his past training and very distinguished service, made it unlikely that he would be able to inaugurate the new system with an open mind and without inconvenient prepossessions. Lord Curzon, in short, wanted the new Member to be as much as possible like the old Member, and the Home Government wanted to make the change desired by Lord Kitchener, and the upshot was that Lord Curzon resigned. The whole correspondence was published for the perusal of the public, but it appeared from Lord Curzon's speech in the House of Lords that it was not he, but Lord Kitchener who desired that a step should be taken, which had a deplorable effect in India, where the Government had hitherto been regarded as a body of one mind, and the Viceroy as its almost sacrosanct head. And as Lord Morley in 1909 abolished the Member for Military Supply, Lord Kitchener has won all along the line, with, it must be confessed, the general approval of the military element.

Lord Morley, who had taken office in the middle of this embittered controversy, throughout endeavoured to safeguard the fundamental principle that the Government of India in all its branches, including the control of the army, was responsible to the Secretary of State in Council, and he laid special emphasis on the fact that the Indian army was one of the most difficult and delicate problems with

which the Government had to deal, especially at a time when a body recruited from the native population could hardly be expected to escape altogether from the influences rife amongst the classes from which its members were drawn. He held that the creation of the Department of Military Supply in the place of the abolished Military Department was only a provisional and tentative arrangement, in fact, a mere compromise between the views of Lord Kitchener and Lord Curzon, and that it had been unsuccessful in attaining what might safely be assumed to have been the main object in creating it, namely, a middle course which both the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief could accept. No one could be a better judge of the situation than Lord Morley, for it was he who by his tactful and conciliatory treatment had relieved a state of prolonged tension which was gravely affecting the efficiency of the public service, and bringing the Government into something dangerously like contempt. Lord Minto, who followed Lord Curzon as Viceroy, set to work to carry out this compromise, and succeeding in producing harmonious co-operation between all concerned, he rather inclined to deprecate the reopening of the question.

In deference to this opinion, apparently somewhat against his own better judgment, Lord Morley resolved to let the matter rest for the time being, but by 1907 the Government of

India had come round to his opinion that the proposed abolition of the Military Supply Member was based, administratively and economically, on sound arguments, and would sooner or later have to be effected.

He accordingly gave effect to his own view, being unwilling to continue to spend £10,000 a year, the amount involved in the continuance of the Supply Department, merely in order to postpone the settlement of an official question which presented certain difficulties. In point of fact, being determined to grasp the nettle, in 1909 he abolished the Military Supply Department, with the approval of the head of that Department himself, and of course of Lord Kitchener, who continued until later in the year to be Commander-in-Chief. Lord Morley did not, like Lord Curzon, fear that the abolition of the Military Supply Department would lead to the establishment of a military despotism, dethrone the Government of India from the constitutional control of the Indian army, and set up in its place a single Commander-in-Chief as supreme head.

Lord Minto, for his part, considered that the change, while giving the Commander-in-Chief wider administrative powers, had in fact rather lessened his independence of action, because, amongst other reasons, the post of Secretary to the Army Department was to be held by a distinguished general officer, who was fully entitled to differ from the head

of the Department (the Commander-in-Chief), and had free access to the Viceroy. It certainly does seem satisfactorily established that the Commander-in-Chief has by no means occupied a position of military autocracy under the new system since the initial change, and it may reasonably be hoped that he will not do so now that the reform is carried to its ultimate and inevitable conclusion.

Leaving this much vexed and most important question to consider Lord Kitchener's general administration, it may be said that he pursued a wise policy of devolution, and delegated to Divisional Commands many duties which had previously been centralised in Simla or in Calcutta. True decentralisation does not mean the lessening of the control at headquarters, but the giving of more powers of initiative and direction to the general and other subordinate officers.

If, as has been calculated, military charges have increased by upwards of two millions sterling —as a fact an over estimate of £300,000—since 1902, when Lord Kitchener assumed command, it must be remembered that that large sum, spread over five years, provided amongst other things for re-arming the artillery with quick-firing guns, and the whole army with the new rifle, and that in every progressive and prosperous State, there is yearly more to be protected, and revenues increase, and the expenditure is augmented in like

ratio, under every head of account, including that of national insurance. The worst enemies of any administration would be those who allowed this insurance to become inadequate. As a fact the amount of the permanent annual increase cannot yet be accurately determined, but it is pretty certain it will not exceed three-quarters of a million.

It is the case, as Sir Charles Dilke lately stated in Parliament, that nine divisions ready equipped for over-sea expeditions now exist in India, but it is not the case that the Indian army is of such strength that these nine divisions could be sent out of the country, and the Indian Empire, from an internal point of view, be still adequately defended. Lord Kitchener, it is true, said that a sufficient force could and would be left to maintain public security, by which presumably he meant little more than that the Empire could be policed during the absence of the main army.

Lord Kitchener is entitled to great credit for the improvements he effected in the transport system, and when this all important subject is under consideration the previous services in this behalf of General Sir Edwin Collen should not be overlooked.

It becomes more and more apparent that, if Great Britain is to maintain her present place of pride in the world, a striking force, capable of leaving India for parts of the Empire situated

nearer to her shores than to Great Britain, is a vital necessity. India must be regarded from an Imperial point of view, and it is impossible to exactly demarcate the lines between her own peculiar, and the general imperial, interests. India's military and naval needs must always be identical with those of Great Britain, and unfriendly critics who dwell upon the army expenditure conveniently forget that a navy is provided for the defence of her thousands of miles of coast-line at the expense of the British taxpayer. Already the statutory provision that no force in India shall be used beyond the limits of that country without the leave of Parliament is unduly hampering the Government of India in meeting its many and great responsibilities. For instance, in the now happily improbable event of our being at war with Russia, the defeat of the Russian fleet in the Baltic, or of Russian troops on the shores of the North Sea, would be as effective as a reverse experienced on the Indian frontier.

The part and lot in the Empire which India plays is so pre-eminently great that it is hopeless to try to find any analogies between her position in respect of military charges, and that of any of our colonies, in which we maintain small garrisons.

In point of fact, the greater part of the corpus of the British army at any given time is in India, and the system of supplying her with troops

necessarily determines the policy to be pursued at home.

Under the Cardwell system her requirements have been successfully met, and it would be fatal to substitute for that arrangement any other which would leave it to the chance vote of a possibly parsimonious or unimperial Parliament to endanger the regular supply of troops, upon which alone the retention of our Eastern Empire depends.

In like manner it is inevitable that India should participate in increases in the pay of British soldiers, and there is no proof that she could provide men for herself at cheaper rates, or indeed that she would be able to provide the necessary proportion of Europeans at all by any feasible plan. The recent increase in the pay of the native soldier was a very wise and necessary measure. A rise was due upon general grounds, and in consideration of the increases which have occurred in other occupations. The action taken was not only *felix opportunitate*, but was founded upon a claim, the equal justice and expediency of recognising which Lord Morley allowed from the early days of his appointment to the India Office. It had long been evident that an increase was necessary, and few wiser steps have been taken in recent years; but to Lord Morley is due the credit for having actually brought it about, and having provided the necessary expenditure. The comfort and contentment of the

native troops have also been greatly enhanced by the extension of free passes, and the grant of free kit, boots, forage and firewood, further facilities for furlough, and improvements in the pension rules.

No extra charges, however, are imposed on Indian revenues without the closest scrutiny before a mixed committee, on which those responsible for the finances of India are strongly represented. It is extremely easy to say that military charges shall not increase. It is impossible, however, that insurance charges should not be augmented in proportion to the increase in the value of that which is protected.

The British troops in India are lent to, and paid for by, the Indian Government, from which also a capitation charge of £7. 10s. per head for the expenses of recruiting and training the recruit is levied. No doubt this is a high charge, but it remains to be proved that India could do the same thing for herself at lower cost, and it is in fact improbable that she could find the material upon which to work.

In addition to the army proper the Government utilises the Imperial Service Corps, a force of 20,000 men, kept up by certain native States, but specially drilled and instructed under British supervision. In this way a good deal of the necessary transport in frontier expeditions is provided, the

greatest assistance being given by the Maharajas of Cashmere, Gwalior, Patiala, and others.

As the Master of Elibank said in the House of Commons last session : "The scheme of Imperial Service troops, introduced in 1889, was based on offers made by Indian Princes to contribute towards the defence of India ; and was established on the principle that the maintenance of these troops by Indian Princes in their territories should be voluntary. The voluntary nature of the undertakings on which the system is based has always been recognised." The contrary has just been stated in a mischievous little book called "India," by Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., in which it is suggested or implied that native princes are forced to keep their troops for the benefit of the British in India. Not indeed that there is in any case, as the ruling chiefs themselves are the first to acknowledge, anything other than complete identity of interest.

The Presidency armies of Bombay, Bengal, and Madras, the original administrative divisions of what was then the Indian Empire, first began with the enrolment of Sepoys in 1748 by Major Stringer Lawrence in order to fight the French.

Each army was distinct and self-contained, and under leaders like Clive the men soon showed their fighting powers.

After the battle of Plassey the Sepoy forces

were reorganised and increased, and subsequently to the annexations which followed the third Mahratta War, the three Presidential armies consisted of 24,000 British and 134,000 native troops, numbers which increased just before the Mutiny to 39,500 British and 311,000 natives, a disparity which looks, and which proved, dangerous.

During the great crisis the Punjab Frontier Force, the Hyderabad Contingent, and the Madras and Bombay armies remained true to us, and the rebellion was chiefly that of the Bengal army, and due, like most other agitations in India, to the intrigues of the highest, ablest, and not unnaturally, most anti-British, class, the Brahmins.

Field-Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood and General Sir Edwin Collen have both recorded the opinion that amongst the causes of the Mutiny was the effort to graft Western ideals upon Oriental customs, and the fact is one which should not be forgotten at the present day when the Government at home and in India is insistently urged by a small party of denationalised natives of India to force further realisations of Western ideals upon people altogether unfitted, or at any rate unready, for their reception.

That acute and experienced observer, Sir Joseph Fayrer, has pointed out that Lord Dalhousie erred in thinking that the administration

of Oudh was unpopular with the natives because of the shortcomings which no doubt, from an European point of view, existed, and there are others who think with him that advances made in the direction of representative government to please a small minority will hardly be counted unto us for righteousness when the day of trial comes.

But, however that may be, there is no doubt that the powerful influence of the Brahmins in the Bengal army was one of the chief causes of the Mutiny, just as the present unrest is caused by members of the same caste and other castes of identical ideals, interests, and ambitions.

At that time, too, our disasters in Afghanistan had dissipated the belief that the British arms were ever victorious, just as at the present moment the victory of Japan has produced a like effect, as regards Europeans in general, upon the peoples of the East.

Then as now, moreover, secret agents were actively trying to debauch the loyalty of the troops. There is, however, happily no cause from these premises to deduce the conclusion that another mutiny is impending, which indeed the writer does not believe, but there are signs and portents making caution and preparation essential, and the country has cause to be thankful that at the present moment an eminent statesman and

not a partisan or a politician is in power at the India Office.

After the Mutiny the European army of the Company came under the control of the Crown, and a Royal Commission advised that the Europeans should be 80,000 strong, and that the native troops should not exceed them by more than 2 to 1 in Bengal and 3 to 1 in Bombay and Madras. This wise advice was adopted, and continues to be followed to the present day, though the number of Europeans is somewhat below the prescribed strength.

In 1893 an Act was passed whereby the office of Commander-in-Chief in Madras and Bombay was abolished, and the function of military control was withdrawn from the Governors of those Presidencies.

India was subsequently in 1895 divided into four Territorial commands under Lieutenant-Generals—Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and the Punjab. Subsequently Burma was practically made a separate command, and the army of India consisted in 1903 of five commands, made up of 74,170 British and 157,941 native troops. In 1899 the army, thus reorganised, was able to despatch to South Africa the force that saved Natal, and since 1902 Lord Kitchener, in addition to the changes above described, has introduced a new scheme of military organisation, based upon

recognition of the fact that our army's chief pre-occupation is the defence of the North-West Frontier, and that our forces in time of peace should be organised and trained in the same formations in which they will operate in time of war, and be under the same commanders and the same staffs.

The whole of the forces in India are now divided into two armies, the Northern army and the Southern army, the former including the Peshawar, Rawal Pindi, Lahore, Meerut, and Lucknow divisions, and the latter the Quetta, Mhow, Poona, and Secunderabad divisions, with the troops in Burma.

The present strength is—British troops, officers and men, 78,318; native troops, 158,054, making a total of 236,372, to which may be added 34,000 volunteers and 20,000 Imperial Service troops, whereby a grand total of 290,000 is reached, and the total cost of maintaining the regular forces is about £19,000,000 a year.

Regiments are now under the new scheme organised on the class company and class squadron system, and the volunteers, who have done splendid work in India in the past, are so organised that they may be able to repeat their record should occasion arise in the future.

The subject of military expenditure is one upon which many controversies have arisen, the

authorities in India frequently objecting to the debits which are made against them at home.

There is a school, of which Sir Charles Dilke is the able and chief exponent, which holds that in consequence of the Anglo-Russian Convention all danger from that quarter has been removed, and that our defensive preparations might safely be relaxed.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that history affords no ground for the view that a nation lately worsted in war is unlikely again to take up arms.

Rather is there ground for supposing that under such circumstances a high-spirited people are more likely to endeavour to redress defeat in one, by success in another, quarter.

Nor is there any guarantee that the Convention and the good understanding will last, or that Russia or any other country will value our alliance or co-operation unless we have a sufficient backing of British infantry and British battleships, and on this score the action of the Socialist, internationalist, and small armament groups in the British Parliament induces a not unnatural but an unfortunate feeling of doubt on the part of foreign nations. It has not yet been reported that the Russian garrisons in Turkestan and along the frontiers of Persia and Afghanistan have been reduced, and the time for us to follow suit, if it come at all, has certainly not yet arrived.

The cost of the army in India takes into account improvements in armaments, equipments, and organisation, the raising of the pay of the native and British soldiers, the establishment of cordite, gun-casting, and small arms factories, and the supply of new guns and rifles. The present expenditure is about eighteen and a half millions exclusive of nearly a million for special works, making a total of over nineteen millions for the maintenance of an army of 236,372 men, a force small enough, it may readily be allowed, for the maintenance of peace in a vast Empire with thousands of miles of land frontier, and nearly three hundred millions of inhabitants.

Expenditure has, of course, developed since 1884–5, and much capital is made by the Congress orators of the fact that it is now equal to, or, as they say, double the amount of the land revenue; but the fact is overlooked that the Indian army is one of the chief factors in maintaining the balance of power in Asia, and that, with the exception of an annual contribution of £100,000, the Home Government bears the entire cost of the navy, without which peace could not be maintained in India for a year.

Admiration for the excellent work by universal consent accomplished by Lord Kitchener in no way connotes depreciation of the labours of his able predecessors as Commander-in-Chief and Military Member of Council.

The Indian army was, of course, a fine fighting

machine, thanks to Lord Roberts, Sir G. Chesney, Sir Henry Brackenbury, Sir G. White, and Sir E. Collen, before the days of Lord Kitchener, and he has been fortunate in being in command in fat years; but nevertheless it required great administrative courage as well as great administrative ability to carry through what is generally known as his redistribution scheme, which included indeed the redistribution of troops, but also the reallotment of commands. The original scheme, as described in previous pages, was to organise the Indian army into nine large divisions over and above garrisons allotted to different stations for maintaining internal peace. Each division was to be composed in the same manner in which it would take the field in war, and to be commanded by the same officers. Later three lieutenant-generals were to command three divisions, but the number has since been reduced to two, the commanders of the Northern and Southern armies. It was originally proposed to concentrate the troops at great centres in order that better conditions of training might be obtained, and two large stations on the North-West Frontier were to be created for this purpose. This part of the scheme, with its resulting great expense, was postponed rather than abandoned, but the organisation of the whole army on a war basis was effected, so that everything is ready in self-contained units waiting mobilisation. The good

effects were apparent during the little campaign last year against the Mohmands, when the transport system, elaborated by General Sir Edward Collen in 1898, and perfected by Lord Kitchener, proved its efficiency down to the last strap and buckle. Lord Kitchener was fortunate in being able to act on the obvious truism, which hardly any one dared enunciate in England till quite recently, that an army is an instrument of war, and is a sham and pretence if not ready to take the field; and he was fortunate to be able to act without reference to Parliament, in which a large party, or at any rate a party too large for safety, appears to think, notwithstanding ocular demonstration to the contrary, that the millennium has arrived, and that other nations will leave us in possession of the best portions of the earth's surface, out of respect for our superior humanity and the greater purity of our motives, in which as a fact they profoundly disbelieve.

Among smaller, but yet not small, reforms accomplished by Lord Kitchener may be instanced the establishment of a Staff College at Quetta.

That Lord Kitchener's work in India has been admirable, and that it required a man of his strong will and great administrative ability to carry it through, few will be found to deny. He has now been succeeded by another very able and distinguished officer, with special knowledge of Indian

conditions and of native troops. It remains to be seen if General Sir O'Moore Creagh will accept in its entirety Lord Kitchener's system, and will work on the same lines.

The Anglo-Russian Convention has so often been claimed by the advocates of reduction at any price as a reason for disbanding part of the Indian army, that a short examination of this instrument is necessary even in this little work.

Before the English and Russians had concluded that most useful agreement, the rivalry of the two nations in the East was one of the main features of Asiatic and European politics.

In 1890 Prince Esper Ukhtomsky, who described the present Czar's Eastern travels, predicted that the Japanese, who seemed "unconscious of the spiritual affinity between the Russians and the Eastern peoples, would soon doff the mask of friendship with the English. It was Russia only that could protect Korea and save China, and there were no bounds to be set to Russian dominion in Asia."

Events have marched since then, and the advance of Russia in the East has been stayed ; but if she has reduced her garrison in Central Asia, which only two years ago had a peace strength of 57,000 and a war strength of 99,000 men, completely equipped in all respects, she has not published the fact, and indeed there is no reason whatever for thinking

that she has effected any reductions. Russia, indeed, is as able now as she was before the war with Japan to place on the Afghan Frontier an army only limited by the carrying power of her lately improved and completed Central Asian Railway system.

It is believed by competent observers that this line has double the carrying capacity of the Siberian Railway, which nevertheless maintained an army of 400,000 men in the field at a far greater distance from the base during the late war.

Mr. David Fraser, a recent and very capable observer, calculated that thirty-six trains a day could be passed through from Krasnovodsk, on the Caspian and Orenburg, to the point of concentration, if the rolling-stock were sufficient.

Russia's offensive power on the Afghan Frontier would be double that which enabled her to meet the tremendous strain experienced in Manchuria. She could maintain an army of half a million of men on the Afghan Frontier and at Herat, which she could take whenever she chose. Yet there are those, among them notably Sir Charles Dilke, who think the Indian army could be safely reduced because of the Convention. Those who hold this view must shut their eyes to the facts of history, conveniently forget the exaltation, within recent times, of Prussia to the practical hegemony of the Continent, and refuse to remember that defeat in

one, never yet prevented a great power from seeking victory in another, quarter.

The integrity of Persia is of course a vital question for the English in India, and in proportion as it is secured by the arrangement with Russia, so is the importance to us of Afghanistan, as a frontier factor, proportionately diminished.

No agreement with Russia will enable us to reduce the Indian army, which, as the extent of territory and numbers of the population to be guarded have increased, has not undergone a corresponding augmentation, and remains, as far as the European troops are concerned—that all important leaven without which the whole is of no avail—at a lower figure than was decided soon after the Mutiny to be necessary, not for purposes of aggression or external warfare, but for the safety of the English in India.

There is one respect in which we could strengthen our frontier without expenditure of English or Indian money, and that is by abstaining from irritating and insulting speeches in Parliament regarding the actions of Mahomedan powers. Perhaps now that authority in Turkey has been diverted from the old to the young Turks, there will be less difficulty on this score, but counsels of moderation are also required in the treatment of the so-called Macedonian question, and it is high time that critics

pretending to the possession of even elementary information, should abandon the absurd belief that the Mahomedan is always a bad man in the wrong, and that the good man in the right is invariably the Christian.

The British Government and its Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, showed true statesmanship in 1907 in taking occasion by the hand, and, when Russia, bleeding from wounds received in Manchuria, had called a halt in the Middle East, in signing a Convention with her defining the position in Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet, which, though not perfect in every particular, was upon the whole highly satisfactory, and brought about a very welcome relaxation of the strained relations which had till then existed between the two countries. Indeed, more than that, it forged a good working friendly agreement.

It had already become evident that if Russian rivalry with ourselves had continued, her plan was to turn the flank of the North-West Frontier by penetrating Persia to the Gulf, and the Afghan Frontier had therefore already ceased to have that supreme importance, which to it formerly attached.

The northern shore and Hinterland of the Gulf, in which our influence is quite as paramount as that of Russia in Persia north of Teheran, should no doubt have been placed within our own sphere of influence, but the guarantee of the independence

and integrity of Persia was worth a sacrifice, and if we proceed to occupy with claims and concessions the northern shores of the Gulf, little harm will have been done, while the Convention itself, soon indeed to be put to a severe test, has proved equal to the occasion, and has already saved Persia from anarchy and dismemberment.

It is curious that Russia should be attacked, through the person of the Emperor, by the Democrats and Socialists of England, just at a time when the Russian monarch has conferred Parliamentary institutions upon his own country, and when his troops have been the means of allowing the Nationalists to expel an autocratic Shah and to place a boy puppet on the throne in Persia.

The Nationalists were at the last gasp in Tabriz when Russia and England interfered and forced the Shah to grant a truce. The breathing time the Nationalists thus gained, and the firmness infused into their councils, supplied them with the very little courage and determination necessary for the march on Teheran, which, thanks entirely to the Convention, they entered without striking a blow. That the two great powers were neutral cannot indeed be said. They favoured the Nationalists, who but for them had already been beaten.

With these occurrences India is immediately and closely connected, and Afghanistan now takes second place. That country is recognised by the

Convention as outside the Russian sphere of influence, while with regard to Tibet the Agreement merely confirms the policy of Mr. Balfour's Government, which decided to veto the appointment of a British Resident at Lhassa, to recognise the suzerainty of China, and to evacuate the Chumbi valley.

Thus were the fruits of Lord Curzon's expedition lost, and though it cannot be said that the British Government had not some reason for dreading to incur further responsibilities north of the Himalayas, it cannot be denied that we got little or nothing for our pains.

CHAPTER VII

ADMINISTRATION—DECENTRALISATION—LOCAL BOARDS—REVENUE

THE Government of the Indian Empire is established by the Government of India Act, 1858 (21 & 22 Vict. cap. 106), by which all the territories under the East India Company were vested in the Crown, to which under the Royal Titles Act, 1876 (39 & 40 Vict. cap. 10), the title of Emperor of India attaches.

The administration in England is vested in the Secretary of State for India, assisted by a Council of not less than ten and not more than fourteen members, of whom all but one must have resided for ten years in India, and must not have left India more than five years previous to their appointment (Council of India Act, 1907). No appropriation of the revenues of India can be made without the concurrence of a majority of votes of the Council at a meeting at which a quorum of five members must be present. The Secretary of State, however, in questions affecting the relations of the Government of India with foreign powers, in making peace or war, in matters of policy relating to native States, and

practically in all urgent and secret matters, subject to the above reservation as regards finance, can act on his own authority. The extent to which he avails himself of this power chiefly depends, of course, upon the experience, eminence, influence, and temperament of the holder of this great office.

The supreme executive authority in India is vested in the Governor-General in Council, who generally, but by no means necessarily, holds office for five years, his appointment, however, continuing under his warrant until his successor is nominated by the Crown. The Council consists of six ordinary members and one extraordinary member, the Commander-in-Chief: the members are appointed by the Crown and ordinarily hold office for five years. The work of the Council is distributed among eight departments—Home, Foreign, Finance, Army, Public Works, Revenue and Agriculture, Legislative, and Commerce and Industry—the last-named being the creation of Lord Curzon's Government, the Military Supply Department of whose, and of Lord Minto's, term of office has, under circumstances explained in Chapter VI., been abolished. To each department is attached a Secretary, and, with the exception of the Foreign and Army Departments, which are assigned to the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief respectively, each one is placed in the charge of one or

other of the ordinary members. The Governor-General draws a salary of Rs.250,800 (£16,720), the Governors of Madras and Bombay, Rs.120,000 (£8000), and the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Punjab and Burma, Rs.100,000 (£6666), while Chief Commissioners in charge of small provinces, and charges such as the Central Provinces, the North-West Frontier Province, Ajmere, Baluchistan, and the Andaman Islands, draw smaller salaries.

The Governors of Madras and Bombay are appointed by the Crown, the Lieutenant-Governors by the Governor-General, subject to the approbation of the Crown, the Chief Commissioners by the Governor-General, and the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors are assisted, like the Governor-General, by Legislative Councils.

All the provinces and all the revenues raised in India are under the control of the Government of India, but the degree of administrative and financial independence enjoyed varies in different cases.

The administration of British India, however good in intention and efficient in execution, is apt, like that of all other countries, to run into grooves, even to lapse into error, and some sort of periodical stock-taking is no less advantageous in this than in other businesses. It must be obvious that one central Government, controlling many local administrations

and dealing with many peoples inhabiting the different regions of a vast continent, must acquire a disposition to judge varying needs by a common standard, to impose systems, amply justified in some cases, upon others to which their application is less desirable, in short, to over-centralise the direction of the vast machine of administration.

In pursuance, no doubt, of these or of some such considerations, Lord Morley appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into the relations existing for financial and administrative purposes between the Supreme and Provincial Governments in India, and between the latter and their subordinate authorities, and to report whether, by means of decentralisation or otherwise, those relations could be simplified and improved.

There was indeed a consensus of opinion, which Lord Minto shared and led, that decentralisation was essential. The Government of India retain the control at present of foreign affairs, defence, general taxation, currency, debt, tariff, post and telegraphs, railways, and accounts, while Provincial Governments control internal affairs, police, civil and criminal justice, prisons, assessment and collection of revenue, education, medical and sanitary arrangements, irrigation, buildings and roads, forests, and rural and municipal boards, in respect of all of which, however, the Government of India to a considerable extent, and as the Commission thinks,

to an unnecessary and unwise extent, intervenes. They point out that India is as big as Europe less Russia, and cannot be administered from head-quarters, and that the importance of strengthening the Provincial Governments coincides with that of educating the people by a knowledge of public affairs, acquired in their actual administration.

Sir A. T. Arundel, lately a member of the Government of India, writes: "It may at once be admitted that we have blundered badly in our system of education, allowing almost the entire stream to be absorbed by literary and legal studies, to the neglect of science, mechanics, engineering, and medicine."

Though the men thus educated are but 1 per cent. of the population they exercise great influence through the press, not only on the educated, but in a less degree on the uneducated, masses, and they desire to drive the coach for themselves, and even at some cost of efficiency, if it prove so, a statesman like Lord Morley, who is by no means alone in this view, thinks they must to some extent, and under supervision of the ruling race, be given a trial.

This aspect of the case gave special interest and importance to the Commission presided over by Mr. Hobhouse, who had lately vacated the office of Under Secretary of State for India upon promotion in the Ministry.

At present Madras and Bombay are administered by Governors, assisted by Executive Councils, consisting, since the Presidential Army system was abolished, of two civil servants, who, even if the Governor exercised his casting vote, are numerically as strong as he is, and by reason of the experience of a lifetime spent in the Presidency, much stronger.

Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Burma, and the Punjab, are under Lieutenant-Governors, who rule without the aid of a Council, while the Central Provinces, the North-West Frontier Province, and Baluchistan, as well as one or two smaller and less important administrative units, are known as Chief Commissionerships.

In the evidence given before the Decentralisation Commission, many of the non-official witnesses asked that the Governor in Council constitution should be substituted for the Lieutenant-Governor constitution, while official witnesses were for the most part in favour of the continuance of the latter system.

Arguments in favour of the Governor in Council arrangement, which appears to the writer, who has a lifelong acquaintance with it, to be indefensible on its existing footing since the abolition of the fourth member, are that it provides for collective deliberation and responsibility, for the distribution

of work amongst the members, for continuity of policy, and for avoidance of personal idiosyncrasies, and possibly autocratic temperament on the part of the head of the Government. The Commission was much impressed by the fact that Lieutenant-Governors of great and populous provinces like Bengal and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh were necessarily overburdened with work, and favoured the Governor in Council constitution.

It was accordingly proposed in the Indian Council Reform Bill which Lord Morley introduced into the House of Lords, to take legal power for the Government of India to effect a change from one constitution to the other, wherever and whenever this course was considered advisable, and in the end it was decided to introduce into the Province of Bengal proper the Governor in Council, or more correctly the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, constitution, and to provide that whenever the Government of India wishes to introduce the same constitution into another province, it shall draft a Proclamation, to be laid on the table of both Houses of Parliament for sixty days, after which, unless an Address is presented against it, such Proclamation shall have the force of law.

In all the larger provinces except Bombay there is a Board of Revenue, or the equivalent, a Financial Commissioner, and in all except Madras there are Commissioners, who represent a half-way

house between the Board of Revenue and the heads of the Districts, whether known as Collectors or Deputy Commissioners.

A District is an official geographical unit running from 1000, to as high as 15,000, square miles, and the efficiency of the administration as a whole depends chiefly upon the conduct of the heads of these component parts.

The Decentralisation Commission arrived at the conclusion that when Executive Councils are enlarged or introduced, as the case may be, Boards of Revenue might be abolished and Commissioners retained, and few will dispute the wisdom of this advice, inasmuch as peripatetic officers visiting all the Districts under their official influence should be of greater value than a Board of three or four members all stationed at, and stationary in, the local capital.

It wisely disapproved of the proposal which had been made to give the Commissioner and Collector an Advisory Council, the fact being that these functionaries can readily obtain, and if they are at all suited for their positions will obtain, quite as much advice as they desire or require.

The Commission thought, however, that the number of honorary magistrates might be augmented, in order to increase the number of Indian gentlemen engaged in the disposal of the business of their Districts.

The Commissioners did not find much fault with the administrative position of the Collectors, Deputy Commissioners, and Judges, but recorded their opinion that officers who lack any of the many and special qualities required in the executive head of a District should never, on the mere ground of seniority, be placed in that position, and it should be remembered that many civil servants, in no way wanting in intellect and character, are perfectly fit for the judicial office, but unsuitable for the active, bustling, over-occupied life of the Executive, or, as he is called in India, the Revenue officer.

The Commission regretted, as every one acquainted with India would, the disintegration of the village system, which is perhaps the inevitable accompaniment of British rule, and they held that in a country of which about 70 per cent. of the inhabitants are villagers, the village must be the foundation of any stable administrative edifice. In pursuance of this policy they proposed to give village committees certain powers in petty civil and criminal cases, and in respect of sanitation, primary schools, fuel and fodder reserves, markets and pounds, and they suggested that these committees should be financed by assignments to them of part of the local land cess.

In regard to Rural Boards, they allowed that they are in an altogether different class, which,

as will be inferred from what is said elsewhere on the subject, is a somewhat mild description of the case, District Boards and Municipalities really being kept going by Government officials, and not by elected and private members.

The Commission held that such Boards should control the services for maintaining which they disburse the funds, such as roads, education, hospitals, dispensaries, vaccination, markets, ferries, and pounds.

In Madras, where local self-government has succeeded rather better than elsewhere, the District Boards have levied a railway cess and have constructed railways on their own account.

This policy, though a proof of energy and capacity on the part of the Boards concerned, is apt to produce embarrassment unless some co-ordinate control is exercised to prevent avoidable competition with, or duplication of, the services of the greater trunk lines belonging for the most part to the Government of India.

Local Boards are financed by the levy of a cess of one-sixteenth of a rupee (1d.) on the annual rent-value of the land, besides a Government grant in aid of 25 per cent. of the total rent collected.

The Commission proposes that the Government control over these Boards should become less strict, and that they should be allowed to shape their own

budget, subject to the condition that they provide minimum balances.

It is doubtful whether such a policy will prove successful, unless, as heretofore, the budget is really prepared and its contents sanctioned, if not initiated, by the Local Government official.

There are upwards of 750 municipalities in India, and in the larger towns the majority of the members of the municipal bodies are natives elected by the ratepayers.

In regard to these bodies the Commission recommended that they should control the services for which they pay, and that primary education should be entrusted to them, secondary and higher education being managed by the Government. This, like many recommendations of the Commission, is no doubt of much value, but it remains to be seen whether Government will ever have the wit to devise, and the courage to introduce, some system of secondary and higher education other than that now existing, whereby, at the expense of the masses, it manufactures from out of the classes crowds of future office-holders and office-seekers, or of disappointed and disaffected agitators. It is a subject of infinite difficulty, upon which only those who have the infallibility of ignorance will presume to dogmatise.

Perhaps the most important subject with which the Commissioners had to deal is finance. Under

the existing system some heads of revenue such as opium, salt, customs, mint, railways, and post and telegraphs are credited wholesale to the Government of India, while others like law and police and education are retained by the Local Government, a third class like land revenue, excise, stamps, income tax, forests and irrigation being divided between the supreme and subordinate administrations. The general view of the Commission is that Provincial Governments should eventually be given independent sources of revenue and certain separate powers of taxation, and that the continuance of the present system of, what are called in British politics, doles should not connote any further increase of control by the Government which grants over the Government which receives.

No orders have yet been passed upon this very able report, the preparation of which eloquently testifies to the earnestness and completeness of the elaborate inquiries made in all the chief centres in India. It would astonish the easy critics of what they call autocratic and bureaucratic administration to learn what searching investigations are made, what infinite variety of opinions, what volumes of evidence from every conceivable quarter are collected, before the Government of India proceeds to legislate or to forge reforms for introduction, or, as in this case, for submission to the Secretary of State in Council for consideration, before orders are

actually passed upon the many and great questions involved.

It is one of the stock criticisms against the British Governments, supreme and local, in India, that they spend the hot weather in the hills, but, as a matter of fact, Simla is far better and more centrally situated than Calcutta. Previous rulers—Moguls, Tartars, and Persians—governed from the uplands, and had they remained there instead of settling in the plains, there is every reason to believe that their sway would have been more prolonged. Inhabitants of a cold, invigorating climate, they were able to conquer India, but as soon as they mingled with the dwellers in the hot valleys of the great rivers, they became gradually merged into the subject populations, than which they ceased to be more strong and vigorous. Thus they were absorbed and lost amongst the millions they could no longer control, since they no longer differed from them in mental and bodily habit.

Of all places for the capital of India Calcutta is one of the worst, and the steamy and enervating climate, which has proved so deteriorating to the natives of Bengal, cannot be other than infinitely prejudicial to the ruling race from the West. True the commercial importance of the city cannot be overrated, but it is very doubtful whether the able and independent European merchants who are the

life and soul of the community are largely affected by, or inordinately desirous of, the presence in their midst for three or four months of the Government of India. The Government of Bengal they have with them, and of that body Calcutta is, and always must be, the headquarters. If the Government of India had a double capital at Delhi or Agra, as the case might be, and Simla, it would be best situated. The Governments of Madras and Bombay, greatly to the public advantage, divide the year between their maritime capitals and more central inland stations. The Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab and the United Provinces follow a similar course, and though Calcutta has, of course, a permanent and paramount claim upon the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, he too has such interests in the Himalayan and sub-Himalayan tracts that not only the bodily health of the members of his staff, but the interests of his people in Bengal, would suffer if the annual move to Darjeeling were wholly abolished. Indeed, under Sir Norman Baker it is evident that the exodus to the hills is already by way of being restricted in extent, and largely curtailed in length.

This question is vital in connection with the health of the army. The bulk of the 78,000 British troops are in the uplands of the Punjab and Baluchistan, and, in diminishing numbers, in the United Provinces, Bombay and Madras, and the smallest number of

all is in Bengal. Moreover, the majority of these troops are situated close to military stations in the Himalayas, where more than half their numbers spend the summer; nor are suitable hill stations wanting in other parts of India. None perhaps of our soldiers and civilians are more fortunate than those who summer in "the sweet, half English air" of the Nilgiris.

No doubt the enemies of British rule in India would like to see all the white civil servants and soldiers sweltering in the plains till they became unfit to meet a crisis when it arrived; but the friends of their own country realise that our civilians and our troops can only be kept in health and efficiency by being as much as possible in a cool climate in the hot weather, and by reducing the garrisons in the more unhealthy stations to the smallest possible dimensions. Were consistency expected of agitators, it might be pointed out that if the Indian taxpayer is to have the best return for his money, the civilians and soldiers that he maintains must be kept where they can best maintain their health and efficiency.

The revenues of India for 1908–9 were estimated at £76,772,000, and the expenditure at £72,867,400, being in each case slightly higher than the actual figures of 1907–8. Land revenue brings in nearly £20,000,000, and the other chief heads of receipt are opium, now fast diminishing, salt,

stamps, excise, customs, post and telegraphs, irrigation, and railways. The military expenditure is rather more than the land revenue, and is, of course, the chief head on the debit side; but there is no naval bill in addition to pay. A large falling off in opium, to satisfy those who regard it as wicked to supply China, which also grows the poppy, with the drug, is a serious matter, and from the Indian taxpayers' point of view hard to justify; while the salt revenue progressively declines as further reductions are made in the duty, which has now come down to one rupee, or 1s. 4d., for a maund of 83 lbs.

The land revenue, which is described in Chapter V., is permanently settled in most of Bengal, a quarter of Madras, and in parts of the United Provinces; elsewhere it is periodically fixed.

In the permanently settled tracts the incidence of the land revenue is about two-thirds of a rupee (10d.) per acre of cultivated land, about one-fifth of the rental, and about one-twenty-fourth of the gross value of the produce. In the temporarily settled tracts it averages about one and a half rupees (2s.) per acre, is rather less than half the rental, and averages about one-tenth of the gross value of the produce.

The total debt of India is less than £250,000,000, and is not more than half that of England in proportion to the revenue, while most of the amount

represents money raised at favourable rates for remunerative capital expenditure.

These figures fully justify Sir Michael Hicks Beach's (Lord St. Aldwyn) statement, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the effect that the finances of India are in better condition than those of the United Kingdom.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CIVIL SERVICE—EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS

The merchants, factors, and writers of the East India Company were the official ancestors of the present Civil Service, and were organised upon their present footing by Lord Cornwallis. It was, however, his predecessors, Clive and Hastings, who had increased the pay drawn by these functionaries, in order to suppress the practice, which existed unchecked, if not openly encouraged, under which the servants of the Company supplemented their exiguous official emoluments by the profits of private trade, and perhaps in other less presentable ways.

The directors used to nominate writers, and in 1805 the College at Haileybury was established, wherein their nominees were trained before they were sent out to India. In 1855, however, the Indian Civil Service was thrown open to competition, and three years later the College at Haileybury was closed. From time to time the age limits for admission to the Service have varied. They now are from twenty-two to twenty-four, and every civil servant, as soon as he arrives in India,

has to qualify in law and languages before he is eligible for promotion. It would be well if the standard of linguistic acquirements could be raised, for proficiency in that respect is of far greater importance than in law, or indeed in any other branch of the education of an Indian civilian.

Of the many Indian things misunderstood in England one is the extent to which natives of India participate in the administration. So much is said about their aspirations to take part in the government of their own country, that it will come as a shock of surprise to many to learn that there are only 1200 Englishmen engaged in civil government, and, excluding 864 civil charges held by members of the Indian Civil Service, there are 3700 persons holding posts in the judicial and executive services, of whom no more than 100 are Europeans.

Indeed, the well-known agitator, Babu Bepin Chandra Pal, said, "We," that is, the natives, "now govern India," and if the words are added, "subject to the impartial supervision of the British," that is a true statement of the case. Natives of India manage most of the business connected with the collection of land revenue, dispose of the vast majority of magisterial cases, perform nearly all the civil and judicial work of the Empire, and in some departments, notably in that of the police, the personnel is almost entirely Indian.

It is, of course, true that the Indian Civil Service proper, commonly called the Covenanted Civil Service, is a *corps d'élite*, staffed for the most part by the governing race, and that the emoluments are therefore pitched on a comparatively high scale, though by no means too high when the importance of the functions performed is remembered.

The Collector and Magistrate of a District is in everything but the name a Governor, subject to the control of the Governor in Council or Lieutenant-Governor at headquarters. District judges exercise powers of life and death, subject to appeal to the High Court of the Province, and when it is remembered that these officers only draw a salary of something less than £2000 a year, that they have in the interests of the public to retire when they are only in early middle age, lest they should deteriorate by long residence in the tropics, and when it is remembered that climatic exigencies make it necessary for them to maintain an establishment in Europe and a home in India, it cannot fairly be contended that they are overpaid.

The salary of natives of India serving in their own country is on an entirely different footing, though it is by no means the contention or intention of the reformers that smaller rates should be accepted by natives of India in the interests of the general taxpayer.

Just as in Russia the peasant's pair of top-boots,

lined with flannel, for the winter, is an absolute necessity of life, and costs no small part of what would keep a family in the tropics for a year, so the salary drawn by one British magistrate or judge would suffice to keep three or four natives of India occupying the same position.

Of course it is true that natives make an excellent use of their salaries, and maintain their poor relations in a manner which does them infinite honour, and also maintain groups of dependants; but it is not necessary to the State that they should become bountiful lords in their immediate circles, and it would be fair enough if they received lower rates than English officers for performing the like functions.

It has already been pointed out that, except in England, there is no country in Europe in which the judicial and executive officers receive such high salaries as are given in the superior ranks of the native Civil Service of India.

Appointments made in India, carrying salaries of £13 a month and upwards, are reserved for natives of India, and selected natives are eligible for all offices formerly reserved for members of the Indian Civil Service, recruited at home and entered by competitive examination.

The public service in India is divided into the Indian Civil Service, just described, and the provincial or subordinate service recruited in India; and the members of the provincial services enjoy all

the important executive and judicial and administrative appointments which are not held by the Indian Civil Service recruited at home. They are also eligible, as has just been stated, for offices reserved for the Indian Civil Service, that is for natives of Europe.

No slight whatever is implied upon the capacity and honesty of natives of India by reserving certain offices to the English. Indeed, it would be idle to contend, and no one with knowledge of the subject would contend, that men of the very highest executive and judicial, particularly the latter, ability have been and are being found amongst natives of India. Indeed, no search is required to find them; but it is not too much to say that even in native States ruling chiefs, with the full approval of their subjects, resort to no inconsiderable extent to European assistance. The fact is the merits of the one are complementary to those of the other, and independent of their nationality. An entirely Indian personnel not only does not find favour with the masses, but meets with their active disapproval.

Two years ago, when certain Bengali Babus were sowing sedition amongst the Hindus of the Punjab, and seditious editors were being supported by certain members of the British Parliament, the Mahomedans in Ludhiana petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor for the replacement of the Hindu personnel of the administration by Europeans, and

at one of the towns which he visited he drove through a triumphal arch bearing the legend, "For God's sake save us from the rule of our fellow-countrymen." This is by no means an unusual occurrence, and it should be understood in the sense above suggested, and not as a wholesale condemnation of the natives of India, or a wholesale eulogy of the people of this country.

In the province of Bengal, the chief seat of the seditious movement against British rule, and the source whence misrepresentations of its character chiefly proceed, though the agitators of Poona must never be forgotten, there is no office which has not been held, and may not be held again, by a native of India, and since Lord Morley took over the reins at the India Office, he has actually appointed a Hindu and a Mahomedan gentleman to be members of his own Council, and, in concert with Lord Minto, has raised a capable Indian barrister to the legal membership of the Governor-General's Council, to sit in the seat of Macaulay.

Of such high offices there are few for European or Indian, but such appointments as these are merely representative of what occurs throughout the Empire. There are, roughly speaking, nearly 30,000 Government posts in India, with salaries of £5 a month and upwards, of which the Hindus hold 50 per cent., the Mahomedans 8 per cent.; and, in the total tale of appointments, the number

held by Hindus has increased by 179, by Mahomedans 129, by Eurasians 106, and by Europeans 36 per cent. since 1867.

To more than half of all the appointments in India a salary of £13, or 200 rupees, a month or less is attached. Of these posts, Europeans hold less than 10 per cent. Of posts of Rs. 200 and 300 the Indian element has risen from 51 to 60 per cent., and of posts from Rs. 300 to 400, from 23 to 43 per cent.; from Rs. 400 to 500 per month, from 21 to 40 per cent.; in posts from Rs. 500 to 600, from 9 to 25 per cent.; in posts from Rs. 600 to 700, from 15 to 27 per cent.; in posts from Rs. 700 to 800, from 5 to 13 per cent. In appointments with pay from Rs. 800 to 1000 per month, there are 93 natives of India, and in 1903, since which date there has certainly been no decrease, out of 1370 appointments with salaries of Rs. 1000 (£60) a month and upwards, 71 were filled by Hindus and 21 by Mahomedans, giving a percentage of 7 for natives of India.

The fact is not denied that this latter class of appointment at the highest rates of pay is generally filled by the British Civil Service, recruited in England amongst men who have passed into the Service, having received, for the most part, a public school and university education. Long may they continue, in the interests of India, to be the controlling element in its Government, the reputation

of which is chiefly due to their energy, honesty, and efficiency.

The aggregate pay of the total number of posts has increased since 1867 by 91 per cent., but the aggregate pay drawn by Europeans and Eurasians has increased by 6, that of natives of India by 191, and of Hindus by 204 per cent.

It is clear, therefore, that in the proportion of posts occupied, and in the averages of pay drawn, there has been a progressive increase in the Indian, and a progressive decrease in the European element, so that there is no justification for the statements put forward to the effect that the promises of Queen Victoria's proclamation have not been fulfilled.

The Government of India employs 6500 of our own fellow-countrymen and 21,800 natives of India to rule over 232,000,000 in British India, and to assist the native princes in ruling over 62,461,000.

It would be very interesting to have the comparative figures of foreign Governments, for the Dutch in Java, the French in Algeria and Cochin China, and the Russians in Turkestan and in their other Asian possessions. Unfortunately no comparative figures of this sort are available, and, day by day, in the House of Commons, questions are asked showing that the questioner is comparing, and inviting the House to compare, the figures of progress made in our Indian Empire with the corresponding figures for the British Isles, and, after

all, this is natural in so far as regards questioners whose personal knowledge is confined, as is so often the case, to their own country.

Critics of the Congress School, while urging that the whole Government Service should be staffed by natives of India, nevertheless exhibit the profoundest distrust of, and the strongest antipathy against, the one department of our administration, which is almost exclusively native in its composition. It is safe to say that throughout the vast continent of India at the present moment, if in any case the conduct of the police can be impugned, the matter is dragged before Parliament; and all prosecutions for sedition, all cases of deportation, and all action taken under the lately passed repressive legislation are criticised from the same standpoint of utter distrust of the police. Yet these policemen are invariably natives of India, and the critics are driven to the unworthy suggestion, actually made in the House of Commons, that they are suborned by European superiors to manufacture false evidence against their fellow-countrymen. No one has yet been found to suggest that the police in native States, also natives, are in any way superior to the police in British India. Indeed, last year, 1909, a case has occurred in one of the best governed principalities in all India, one frequently held up as a model to all others, Travancore, in which the High Court, consisting of Indian and

European judges, has condemned the conduct of the police as severely as the judges of the High Court in Calcutta have done in any of the cases which have come before them.

Amongst the many functions of the Collector Magistrate or Deputy Commissioner who is head of a District, is the control of the police. It is true that this duty is only one of many others connected with the land and land revenue, with forests, public works, gaols, sanitation, education, and District and Municipal Boards; but if, as the Congress critics appear to think, the native of India is unfit to be a police officer, how can he be fit to exercise these manifold functions, requiring great physical strength and endurance, habits of the utmost corporeal activity, and good horsemanship, as well as the control of what is, according to their showing, a hopelessly and unutterably corrupt police force.

The head of a District is assisted in his manifold duties by subordinate civil officers, a superintendent of police, a doctor, a forest officer, a surveyor, and various other functionaries. There are also sub-District units, managed, as a rule, very satisfactorily by native officers, whose charges may vary in size between three and six hundred square miles. Below them again are the village officers, the Head Man, the Accountant, the Watchman, and so on: and among the few intelligent criticisms made by critics of the sentimental, Congress, and

advanced Indian schools in Parliament are those which relate to the maintenance, as far as possible unimpaired, of these admirable village communes, with which our British system of administration unfortunately seems necessarily to come into collision. Of all the material with which the travelling member is inoculated by those who dry-nurse him, this is the only useful asset.

The judicial administration of an Indian province consists of one High Court, the District and Sessions Divisions Courts, the Courts of the District Magistrate and his assistants, and the Courts of the subordinate magistrates, that is to say, subordinate as regards powers, and subject more completely to appeal, but not subordinate in respect of the exercise of magisterial powers, wherein they are as independent as any magistrate or judge in India.

There are also the Civil Courts of the District Moonsiffs and the Subordinate Judges, practically almost always natives of India, and almost invariably officers of very considerable judicial ability. The writer who, amongst other duties, served in the Registrar's Office of a High Court, has always believed that for the performance of these duties natives of India are unrivalled. That is not to say, however, that the natives, even where they have the completest confidence in their fellow-countrymen on the Bench, do not prefer, in fact they

always do prefer, to have their cases judged by Europeans, though this does not necessarily imply any doubt of the honesty of the Indian judge. It implies, rather, a full consciousness of the exceeding great difficulties under which absolute impartiality is maintained in a country in which caste is all-powerful, and in which equality is a mere empty word, exploited by agitators, but having no existence in fact.

The law administered is Hindu, founded on the Institutes of Manu, Mahomedan, founded on the Koran, and customary, far the greatest of the three, but somewhat checked in its natural development by our practice of codification, and by the simultaneous introduction of case-made law. It is well to remember that the Indian conception of law is of a personal character, and when the English brought their personal legal system into the three Presidency towns of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, some curious anomalies resulted, such as, among other things, the utterly incongruous office of Sheriff, which survives to this day.

No Act of Parliament passed subsequently to 1726 applies, unless expressly stated, to British India. Every Act passed by the Local Government requires the consent of the Governor-General, and may be disallowed by the Sovereign, and the Legislative Council of the Governor-General has no authority to repeal the Army Act, or any

enactment enabling the Secretary of State to raise money in the United Kingdom.

In native States laws are passed by the ruling Chief, in some cases aided by that British institution, a Legislative Council, and always with the advice and approval of the political officer, representing the British Government, generally known as the Resident. Certain rights are reserved to the British Government, arising out of the fact that for external purposes native States are regarded as part of the British Empire.

On the Benches of the High Courts one-third of the judges are by statute required to be barristers, and every province is divided into Sessions Divisions, the judge of each of which has power of life and death, subject to the confirmation of the Highest Court of Criminal Appeal in the Province. Elaborate appeals are provided from the courts of the magistrates of different classes. Civil Courts of grades below that of the District Judge are almost entirely presided over by natives of India, who also occupy, on an average, a dozen seats, at any given time, on the benches of the High Courts from which appeal lies in civil, and some criminal, cases to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The system of combining, in the person of one functionary, the offices of Collector of Revenue and District Magistrate has been subjected to a perfect storm of criticism by the advanced Indians and by the Congress School,

who naturally disapprove of any measure tending to increase the power and influence of District Officers. But this system was no invention of the British. It was inherited from our predecessors in title, and is by no means unpopular with the masses, being in strict accordance with native theories of government, and not open to criticism from any point of view but that of the advanced countries of Western Europe, with which it is simply ridiculous to compare India. The District Magistrates, as a fact, rarely try criminal cases, but it is their duty to repress crime, and not merely to sit down and wait for evidence, often of little value. Again, the creation of stipendiary magistrates for the disposal of criminal cases, now tried by revenue officers, would cost large sums of money, and would benefit no one, except the Babus, who would obtain the new appointments.

Natives of Europe and of India are subject to the same civil and criminal jurisdiction, except that European British subjects may only be arraigned before a judge or a magistrate who is a Justice of the Peace, and they can claim a jury, of which not less than half the number are Europeans or Americans.

Those who remember the nearly successful charge brought by some Bengalis against a European, who had been shooting near their village, and reflect upon the ease with which a corpse can be produced, furnished with the necessary wounds,

and the death laid at the door of a European, who perhaps was merely defending himself against attack, will appreciate the necessity for this precaution in favour of the few white men in India.

Indian villages, which contain upwards of 70 per cent. of the population of the continent, may be divided into the joint or landlord village, which prevails in the United Provinces, Central Provinces, and the Punjab; and the ryotwari village, which occurs outside Northern India, in which the revenue is collected directly from the cultivator, and in which there is no joint responsibility.

Under native rule no system of representation ever grew up, and the management of towns and villages alike resided, not in the hands of representatives of the people, but in those of the tax collector, police officer, and other officials. The exotic system of District Boards and Municipalities was greatly developed by Lord Ripon, who extended the elective element in it, and regarded it as a most valuable method of educating the peoples of India up to political responsibility. It is not too much to say that this system has never become popular with the people, and that the only tax levied by the Municipalities that is not absolutely unpopular is one that we in this country regard with particular disfavour, but which the precedent-loving natives of India readily accept as the counterpart of the obstructive but time-honoured transit duty,

namely, the octroi. Even in Madras, where Local Government has been more successful, there is a great deal of make believe about the whole business. It was the duty of the writer at one time to administer certain Municipalities and Local Boards, and at another to review their reports in the lump in the Provincial Secretariat, and in spite of the persistent eulogies which proceed from the party of reform he can only record his opinion that the system, as a whole, is unpopular and unsuccessful, though it is, of course, immensely grateful to the lawyer class, and has been the means whereby they have consolidated their power, and their stepping-stone to the Provincial and Supreme Legislative Councils.

Lord Ripon regarded the elective system as a means of political and popular education, and it is no doubt regarded by the reformers as a most valuable step on the road to those Parliamentary institutions to the grant of which Lord Morley has plainly stated he does not look forward, an important pronouncement from one who has made so great a move forward in order to meet the aspirations of the advanced party.

These views may be regarded as novel and strange by those who have been in the habit of reading the material industriously circulated in this country by the English Branch of the Indian Congress, and this gives the writer the opportunity to

state in the plainest and most unequivocal language that the British officer in India, at the present day, can only get at the feelings of the masses, indeed, can only come in contact with them, by breaking loose from the net which is industriously weaved around him, by having a perfect command of the vernacular language of his District, and by keeping in mind the inevitable attitude of the class, conveniently known as Babus, who desire that he should be their tool, and will not willingly suffer him to be their master.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION

Reference has already been made to the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission in respect of education, but in no work on India, however brief and abstract in character, is it possible to give this great factor in the present condition of the Empire mere passing notice.

The battle of the Orientalists and the Anglicists was fought in the days of Lord Macaulay, who was held to have settled the question by his celebrated Minute, which, however, is no more conclusive as an argument than his history and essays are accurate as to their facts.

Ever since that day, however, the Government of India have continuously developed higher education upon Western lines, until at the present time graduates of the Universities are turned out by thousands to enter the public service if they can, and if they cannot, to join the ranks of the discontented and the disaffected.

Every attempt to diminish the gratuitous and, to a great extent unnecessarily gratuitous,

provision of higher instruction, in order to increase the provision of the more necessary, more useful, and far more innocuous primary education has been steadily resisted by the Brahmin and privileged classes, who, thanks to this system, have been able to maintain the position they occupied before our supremacy, and practically to rule the country, or to exercise their great influence in ruling it as our agents, in every department of the public service.

Pledged as the British Government wisely and necessarily is to religious neutrality, it abstains in Government-aided institutions from all religious teaching, which is supposed to be supplied by the parents of pupils in their homes. Such, however, is not a feature of home life in India, and students who are studying Western science and literature are inevitably led to reject their own religious and ethical systems without accepting ours in substitution therefor, or the general moral code which has resulted from the profession for ages of the creed of Christianity.

Hence the phenomenon of youths whose hatred of the English increases in proportion to the extent to which they imitate the habits, customs, and modes of thought of our country, unless in addition to profiting by an almost gratuitous Western education, they are also provided, whether or not qualified, with an appointment under the State.

The same ignorant criticism is applied to the spread of education in India as to everything else connected with the administration of that country. If only one-sixth of the boys of school-going age were following a course of primary instruction at last Census, instead of being astonished that an Oriental population should exhibit such satisfactory figures, comparisons are immediately made with the number of boys of school-going age in England! Does any one point out this obvious fact? By no means. The absurdly inappropriate standard seems to meet with general acceptance.

Lord Curzon at any rate had the courage to appoint the Indian Universities Commission, which admitted that the acquirements of Indian graduates were inadequate and superficial, and that the life they led while undergoing instruction was undisciplined and unsatisfactory, words even more applicable to the lives which Indian students lead who come over here to complete their education.

Again, with a true appreciation of the position, Lord Curzon's Government increased the grants for primary schools, laid down tests for the official recognition of secondary education, and introduced important and real reforms into the training colleges and industrial schools.

Finding that the five Indian Universities controlled the instruction given in about 200 colleges, which were practically under no inspection, and

subject to no uniform standards, Lord Curzon's Government also provided these Universities with new and better Senates, in order that they might insist upon superior standards being maintained in affiliated and recognised institutions. Of course those who profit by B.A. making, and the class so made, at once objected that the policy of the Government of India was to insist upon such a high standard of efficiency as would crush the less satisfactory institutions, which the Babus had found so useful in the manufacture of graduates, and the seven vials of wrath were emptied upon the head of Lord Curzon, as the chief of, and also as the chief factor in, his own Government. None the less were these reforms as necessary to introduce as they were difficult of introduction, and the courage of the Viceroy and his colleagues, who cannot have been ignorant of what their reception would be at the hands of the Bengali press, deserve, and should receive, recognition.

Again, while it is true that only half the boys of school-going age were following a course of primary education when the last Census was taken, it is extremely improbable that in any other part of Asia anything approaching that number has been ever attained, or in any Oriental country under European control.

Secondary education is far more developed, but it is a serious flaw in the system that in this grade

the vernacular languages are utterly sacrificed to English, the study of which among impecunious students seems to provoke animosity against the nation which speaks that tongue, only equalled by the intensity of the ardour with which it is pursued.

Education amongst the Mahomedans has made less progress, and though technical, industrial, arts, engineering, medical, agricultural, veterinary, and normal colleges and schools find a place in the Indian system of public instruction, it may safely be asserted that its chief product is the typical Babu, the *græculus esuriens* of the Indian Empire.

Lord Curzon, like the Chinese coolie, if the comparison be permitted for a moment, was condemned more because of his merits than his faults, and though by no means more unappreciative of popularity than other public men, he had the courage nevertheless to tell the truth and say that the vernacular languages were being neglected for the pursuit of English on account of the mercantile value of the latter tongue. Nor should it be forgotten that it was his Government which made primary education a charge on the provincial revenues, and supplemented these charges by annual grants, and that it was he who ventured to say that our higher education trained the memory at the expense of the mind, who restored the training colleges and endeavoured to make the

universities the abodes of learning instead of the manufactories of graduates. If he did not wholly succeed where success was so difficult, there is at any rate no proof at all that the reconstructed Senates have dealt severely with the weaker colleges, and there is no doubt that they have done something to bring these very unsatisfactory institutions into line.

The fact is the problem of education in India is difficult and complex to an almost inconceivable degree. The numbers affected, the differences in religion, race, creed, languages and customs, resemble those of a quarter of the globe rather than of any one country, which ignorant critics in England suppose, or pretend to believe, India to be. Government employment is beyond all others the goal to which higher education points, and though want of reverence and an impatience of control have manifested themselves to an alarming extent amongst the products of our system, it is the fact that this result is by no means peculiar to it, but has occurred whenever an ancient ethical system has had to give way to new sources of knowledge and fresh modes of thought. No doubt, however, the exclusively material character of the instruction given in Indian educational institutions has increased this unsatisfactory feature to an extent unprecedented in other countries in which religion plays a less important part, and is less essential as

the cement of the whole social system. Of course something is done to counteract the solvent effects of our education, and the Government of India has been at infinite pains in selecting text-books, in providing hostels and making physical training compulsory as far as possible upon unwilling youths of sedentary habits. Every Local Government impresses upon those engaged in tuition the necessity for enforcing discipline and developing the moral training of their pupils.

Nevertheless great difficulty is experienced in enforcing discipline, and a simple illustration of this is afforded by the fact that large numbers of the boys at school are married men, and that they and their relations would strongly object to the infliction of corporal punishment, no matter how serious the offence committed.

As to text-books where so many languages are spoken, unusual difficulty attaches to providing suitable books, and so long as an unscrupulous, hostile, and licentious vernacular press circulates freely amongst the rising generation, there is too much ground to fear that moral essays will be of little or no avail in counteracting so active and malevolent a propagandist movement.

One reform in the educational system cries aloud for adoption, namely, the systematic refutation of the calumnies which are circulated broadcast concerning our Government in India. It is not

enough to rest content with the consciousness of good work done. It is, on the contrary, necessary to strain every nerve to prevent malicious representation of that work from gaining considerable, if not general, acceptance.

Only those who have spent years in England in the endeavour to make the truth known, and to counteract poisonous propaganda, have any idea of the extent to which systematic misrepresentation of the Government is carried on amongst the lower-middle and lower classes of Great Britain.

Unfortunately there is a small band in Parliament of whom it might be said, *malitia supplet numeros*, whose action enormously strengthens the hands of the enemies of our country, and whose members are always ready to join in any attack, from whatsoever quarter proceeding, provided only it be directed against their own fellow-countrymen.

No system of education in India, therefore, can be complete or satisfactory which does not include systematic training as to the facts, and systematic refutation of the false, foolish, and mischievous statements which are sown broadcast in Europe, Asia, and America by the enemies of British rule. Here as elsewhere appears the craft and subtlety of the agitator, and the ignorance and gullibility of his dupe, for no apparent reason exists why

the general taxpayer in India should be charged with the lion's share of the cost of making graduates, seeing that the graduate, when made, wishes to live upon, not for, the general taxpayer. Nevertheless the so-called "friends of India" in Parliament blindly back the classes against the masses, and imagine they are working on democratic lines.

Under the old Hindu system, higher education was practically confined to the higher classes, and there is no doubt but that, by continuing to gratuitously provide such higher education, the British in India have confirmed to the Brahmin, and allied higher castes, that position of supremacy which they held prior to our rule as the nominal agents, but as the real masters, of the turbulent, bold, and superstitious military tribes, who imposed their yoke on different parts of the continent. Thus wrote Sir John Malcolm, who knew this subject about which Macaulay and his school theorised, just as the million who can speak English pretend at the present day to represent the 299 millions who cannot, while the 299 millions ignore the one million, who, nevertheless, in many quarters appear to be accepted as their representatives.

The Government of India has taken certain steps to exercise control over the students and schoolboys, and Lord Morley has elaborated a most useful scheme for their protection here in England

from the contamination of India House, Highgate, and the like plague-spots, in which visionary, emotional youths of immature minds and deficient knowledge are turned into assassins.

Of all the wants of Indian education, denominational teaching is the greatest. Whenever the people take independent action, as in the case of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College of Alighur, the Central Hindu College at Benares, the Khalsa College of the Sikhs, and the Arya-Vedic and Islamic Colleges of the Punjab, it will be found that they always build upon religious lines. The best text-books cannot supply this one crying need, but if we arranged that all students should receive denominational teaching in the religion of their parents, taught history in comparative fashion as it should be taught, and inculcated the true facts about our own Government, great strides towards the attainment of a more practical and satisfactory system would be effected.

We now spend all our funds devoted to education in gilding the lily, and still further educating the Brahmins, who are too often hostile to ourselves, instead of providing a modicum of knowledge for the masses, who are invariably well affected.

Another important reform is to insist upon the acquisition by every European executive official of the chief vernacular languages of his District,

without which he is no better than the tool of his subordinates, and can never properly exercise the extensive powers with which he is entrusted.

It is folly to regard the graduates as a negligible quantity, though it may be true, as the Superintendent of Municipal Schools in Bombay lately said, that they do not command much influence amongst the masses of their fellow-countrymen and do not represent them. The graduate is, in fact, a permanent feature in the situation, and since no one is likely to recommend that he should be ended, every one should unite in agreeing that he should be mended, and that the practice of turning out half-educated specimens wholesale at a cost of £3 to £6 a head to the general taxpayer should be definitely abandoned.

The number of students who matriculated at the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, and Allahabad in 1906–7 was 9177. The figure has year by year been steadily increasing, and there were in 1907 no less than 5,397,862 students, male and female, in 162,690 educational institutions, of which 28,944 were public, 75,624 aided, and 58,189 private and unaided. These figures indicate great educational activity, and if only 25.4 per cent. of boys and 3.4 per cent. of girls of a school-going age are at school, it would be interesting to compare these figures with those of any other part of Asia, and as the Master of

Elibank recently stated in a speech which attracted much attention, statistics show that if the people as a whole are still illiterate, they can by no means be described as more prone to crime than the inhabitants of other countries.

CHAPTER X

PRESENT POLITICAL CONDITIONS—SEDITION—PARTITION—SVADESHI—SVARAJ—BOYCOTT—PRESS

No one who has studied even in the most superficial manner the educational system in force in India will hesitate to say that that system, interacting with, and reacting upon, the present ferment in the East, is the chief cause of that condition of affairs which in recent years has become manifest in the country, and is commonly called unrest.

It is not too much to say that students are brought up on literature full of destructive criticism of any form of government founded on authority. The gods of the East are held up either to scorn or good-humoured contempt, while the gods of the West are not represented as specially worthy of reverence or obedience.

Another contributory cause of a far less important character but still of considerable importance is the want of sufficiently whole-hearted support of the police force, whose, no doubt, many and great faults, characteristic as they are of the Indian race to which the members of the force belong, have been, and are being exaggerated, for

the purpose of making a trick in the game of disaffection, a trick which the Government is perhaps rather too willing to allow to be marked. The actions, writings, and speeches of a little band of retired Indian civil servants, and of certain sentimental Radicals, Labour members, and the like in Parliament, the activities of Anarchists and their dupes in and out of England and India, the support of certain Irish journals, the effect of active and continued propagandist efforts in Bengal and the Punjab, and in the Mahratta country, the subtle influence of certain half-religious and half-political bodies in Bengal and the United Provinces, the use made of the administrative division of the old over-large province of Bengal, the pecuniary support given by Bengal landlords to the Congress funds under the mistaken impression that they are thereby insuring the continuance of the permanent settlement with which the Government has never thought of interfering, the debauching of Indian students in England, to which Lord Morley is endeavouring to put an end, the presence of seditious associations at our Universities, the judgment of the High Court of Calcutta in the Blomfield case, the erroneous and mischievous definition given in the same Court of the word *svaraj*, which, as all the judges should know, implies independence, the defeat of a first-class European Power by

Japan, and last, but by no means least, the activity of the seditious Press and the reluctance of Government until lately to prosecute the editors—all these are among the causes of the movement known as "unrest." It is a movement which, though not affecting the masses, is sufficiently widespread amongst the English-educated classes to make it one of the most formidable difficulties with which the Government of India has at present, and will have in the future, to deal.

Mercifully, the occasion finds the man in the present Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley, who, without departing from the policy of conciliation, in which direction indeed he has made further advances in order to meet the legitimate aspirations of the English-educated upper classes, has nevertheless dealt firmly with all breaches of the law, and supported the Government of India in every step it has taken to this end, if, indeed, he has not inspired some of these steps by his own initiative and advice. The respective shares, however, of Secretary of State and Viceroy in the acts of the Government of India are never known outside their respective offices, and those without these inner circles can only draw conclusions from the personal qualities of the high officers concerned.

The so-called partition of Bengal was merely an opportunity of focusing and concentrating the

spirit of sedition and unrest, and the opposition originated with the Babu class, the members of which naturally desired to retain the monopoly of Government appointments, which they had hitherto enjoyed in the undivided province of Bengal, and disliked the prospect of being the majority in one out of two Bengal provinces, instead of being the majority in one undivided province.

It is the Babu class which controls the Indian Press, which invented Svadeshi, or the exclusive use of home produce, and the Svaraj, or political independence, movements.

The policy of Svadeshi, in spite of the desperate efforts of the Congress and Babu party, is failing, owing to the unwillingness of the people to buy at greater cost goods made in India, which they can obtain at a cheaper rate from Europe, and it is astonishing how members of Parliament elected as strong, not to say violent, free traders in England, can with any approach to consistency support a full-blown protectionist policy, of which the refusal to admit into India, British steel, cotton, and other goods, is the cardinal feature.

As to Svaraj, its advocates pretend, when necessary, that it is the equivalent of colonial self-government, as if that were possible with 300 million Asiatics to govern, but it should

be clearly understood that all the Svaraj faction want from England is the British army, at the cost of the taxpayer at home, to maintain the Brahmin and Babu class in authority over the masses, which in fact they now rule with, but desire to rule without, the supervision of the Englishman.

It may be argued from a European standpoint that the most intelligent and highly-educated classes should rule over the masses, but such classes never have so ruled in the East unless they were able to maintain themselves in power by other qualities than brains, and the Babu class notoriously cannot do so, neither has it ever yet been shown that the intelligent and highly-educated classes of one nationality can continue to rule with the aid of foreign bayonets over the masses not only of their own but of other nations. To draw a European parallel is impossible; but could the upper classes of Dresden, or say of all Saxony, have been maintained as rulers of Prussia, Bavaria, and other countries in the German Empire with the help of bayonets supplied by France, supposing that France had conquered Prussia in the war?

To show how completely anti-British the Svaraj and boycott movements are it will suffice to quote one passage from the *Sanjibani*, edited by Krishna Kumar Mitra, who was deported with eight other

agitators from Bengal in December 1908. The passage runs :—

"Oh brothers, we will not pollute our hands by touching English goods. Let English goods rot in the warehouse and be eaten by white ants and rats."

The watchword of these agitators is "*Bande Mataram*," the name also of a newspaper, formerly at any rate, managed or edited by Babu Bepin Chandra Pal, whose voice was lately uplifted in London. The words mean "Hail Mother," and though they may now be used to mean "Hail Motherland," the literal translation is simply "Hail Mother," that is, Mother Kali, and they are thus a direct appeal to the lowest instincts of Hinduism in its worst and most demoralising form.

The daughter of the deported Krishna Kumar Mitra has lately published a little book called "The Sikh's Sacrifice," of which Babu Surendra Nath Banerji wrote in his newspaper *The Bengali* :— "This little book reveals the process of nation building through the ordeal of fire and persecution, and it should be in the hands of every one who has his eyes open to the significance of the events which are passing around us."

This journal, *The Bengali*, has been at least as instrumental as any other in inflaming students in Bengal to acts of violence. It is well described by *The Statesman* of Calcutta, a journal under

European management, and itself a strong adherent to the reform movement, as one " which, professing horror of assassination, serves up every day for the consumption of its readers vilification of the British officials, insinuations against the actions of the administration, and inculcates the notion that, the Government being alien, cannot be expected to understand, or sympathise with, the aspirations of the people."

The wish that " The Sikh's Sacrifice" should be in the hands of every schoolboy has been pretty well realised, for it was the text-book of the Anushilan Samiti, one of those associations to suppress which the Government of India has taken special powers, and both of the leaders of which are among the nine deportees of December 1908.

The record of this Samiti is one stabbing and one murder in 1907, a robbery with several murders in 1908, and the murder of an informer's brother in 1909.

Those who maintain that the agitation in Bengal can be regarded as innocent should see the pictures of Mother Kali, Kali Ma, the Ma of Bande Mataram, the favourite deity of Bengal, more particularly amongst the Hindu revolutionaries, who in their conflict with the English demons appeal to Kali for some of the mighty strength she displayed in destroying the devils of old times.

The goddess is represented with a body of

cerulean hue, with a string of lately severed heads, arms, and other limbs round her neck, a sword dripping with gore in her bloodstained hands, trampling on a giant now always represented as white, while other Hindu gods look down approvingly from heaven on the prowess of their sister.

The revolutionaries and anarchists of India are now nothing if not religious. Early in the day they discovered that the anti-Hindu attitude did not pay, and though generally men who have renounced Hindu caste and creed, they appeal through religion to the most debased and degraded instincts of their fellow-countrymen.

The picture of Kali just described is regarded as equivalent to an idol, a vow taken upon it is held sacred and binding, and such were the vows of the members of the Anushilan Samiti. The words run as follows :—

"In the name of God, father, mother, preceptor, leader, and mother country, I make this solemn vow that I will not be bound by any tie from father, mother, relatives, kinsmen, friends, hearth, home, till the mission of this Samiti is fulfilled, that I will not hesitate to make any sacrifice in the discharge of the work of this Samiti. If I flinch from this solemn vow, or in any way act contrary to this vow, the curse of God, of Kali Ma, and the mighty sages will destroy me ere long."

One of the revolutionary hymns to Kali contains the following stanzas :—

"Where are you, oh! mother Chamunda, wearing a garland of human heads,
Oh! mother of terrible form, your afflicted children call you,
Devils are oppressing them, Demons have reduced India to ashes,
Committing terrible oppression on her. Come, oh Chandi! to punish Chanda and Munda in a different age."

That is to say, Come to punish the English devils who now oppress us in the place of those whom formerly you slew. Another hymn recites the manifestation of Kali's power at the time of the Mutiny, and prays that a similar time under new leaders may soon recur. Here are a few stanzas :—

"Half a century ago, all the children of India once made a solemn vow.

"Alas! these efforts went for nothing, evil was brought about, and the welfare of the country was not achieved.

"Lakshmi Bai from Jhansi (Rani of Jhansi), Tantia from Malwa (Tantia Topi), Nana Sahib Singh from Bithore (Nana Sahib) rose roaring to remove the bondage of the Mother.

"To-day Bepin Chandra Pal, Surendra Nath Banerji, and Tilak Singh of the Mahrattas, have proclaimed that Agit Singh is making arrangements in the Punjaub, and that the religious rites of the mother (Kali) will be duly performed this time. Let Asia rise up now with prowess, rise Herat and Meerut, why do you not redden Kali Ghaut (the temple of Kali at Calcutta) with blood and perform the worship of the Mother."

It is hardly necessary to say that the names mentioned are those of the bitterest enemies of the English during the Mutiny, and of the leaders of the anti-English agitation amongst the Bengalis and Mahrattas of to-day.

In other Bengali newspapers which are controlled by political agitators, who also organise the anti-partition, Svaraj, and Swadeshi movements, men whose natural desire it is to concentrate their interests at Calcutta, stories have been circulated to the effect that the object of the administrative rearrangement of Bengal was the raising of taxation, the deportation of coolies, and other vain imaginings, and throughout the Bar Libraries in Bengal circulars were distributed describing the English as bloodsuckers, and calling upon Hindus to unite in the name of Kali.

Nevertheless, in spite of all efforts, the boycott and national volunteer movements have failed in Eastern Bengal to do more than produce a feeling of unrest, and to undermine discipline in the ranks of the students.

Habitual misrepresentations are made in and out of Parliament regarding the attitude of the people of Eastern Bengal. The Mahomedans, two-thirds of the whole, as a fact strongly approve the creation of the new Province, in which they are in the majority. Nor are they alone, for the Hindu tenants of the Babu pleaders and landlords rejoice at the closer supervision of their landlord's proceedings, which will result from the levelling up of the administration.

But here again the astute agitators have duped their English sympathisers into the belief that the

anti-partition movement is one of a democratic character, and that there is no organisation having assassination as at least one of its aims. What then is to be thought of the long list of concerted outrages ending in the murder in London of Sir W. Curzon Wyllie and Dr. Lalcaca? What of the shooting of Mr. Allen, two attempts on Sir A. Fraser, the murder of two ladies at Mozufferpore, the bomb factory at Manicktollah, the assassinations of Narendro Nath Gossain the informer, of Nundo Lal Bannerjee the detective, and of Asutosh Biswas the Public Prosecutor, the bomb outrage on the Eastern Bengal Railway, the riots in Bombay and Rawalpindi, the bomb despatched in a book to Mr. Kingsford the magistrate, and the repeated attempts on the life of Mr. Hume, Public Prosecutor? Were all these occurrences merely fortuitous and unconnected, was there no common knowledge and design? That at any rate is not the view taken in England of the long list of outrages which culminated in the murder of Curzon Wyllie, and have been followed by the attempt on the Viceroy, and the assassination of Mr. Jackson. The circumstances of the last-mentioned crime prove the existence of a murder organisation among high-caste Brahmins in the Deccan, to cope with which the Government applied to the Bombay Presidency the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, which shortens the trials of political

offenders, and authorises the suppression of unlawful associations. This step has been welcomed by all but the small class of seditious agitators and their dupes.

Babu Bepin Chandra Pal, who seconded a motion of condolence with Lady Wyllie in London in 1909, no longer back than in 1907 referred to the necessity for the sacrifice of 101 white goats, a speech which, if innocent in intention, was at least very unfortunate in expression, and capable of a most sinister interpretation.

Mr. Bepin Chandra is, however, an able and outspoken agitator, and he has admitted, what should be obvious, that there can be no constitutional agitation in India against the British Government, besides which he made the useful admission that it is the natives who now govern India, the English only standing at the top and taking the largest pay, a fair answer to those who say that the natives have no share in the government of their country. Bepin Chandra Pal went on to say that the British incubus once removed, a prohibition tariff would be imposed on the manufactures of Sheffield and Manchester, when English trade would soon be a thing of the past. Then Englishmen would be refused admittance to India and British capital would be rejected. If revolution in India were permitted to be peaceful the United States of India would be evolved, and the protection

of Britain would be continued until a conflict arose, when if a dictator were needed the Ameer of Afghanistan was a capable man, who had lately paid a visit to India!

But in England butter would not melt in Babu Bepin Chandra's mouth. Rightly did Sir John Hewett treat his council to a homily in which he dryly remarked that to express horror of assassination was not enough, and that cordial co-operation with the Government in suppressing sedition and punishing crime was the necessity of the day and hour.

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., has much resented accusations that he was occupied in encouraging sedition when he visited India in 1907, and of course it may be that a little book he has published this year called "India" is intended to assist his fellow-countrymen in governing the Empire of that name.

Nevertheless it gives an account of our rule which, were it founded on fact, would justify revolt, and, if anything can, would almost palliate assassination, the occurrence of which in the heart of London has at last compelled public opinion in this country to give a passing thought to the disloyal agitation which has long been proceeding in India, almost unnoticed at home.

It may suffice here to remark that this little book, published by the Independent Labour Party,

is a compendium of all the stock, stale, false, and oft-refuted criticisms of British rule put about by the enemies of England amongst the Congress party, the seditious classes in Bengal, and disaffected Mahrattas of Poona.

The British Government is accused of showing special favour to Mahomedans, who, left alone, get on well, it is said, with the Hindus, of extracting from the peasants 75 per cent. of the harvest, which is as near as may be just ten times the true figure, of wringing the last penny from the cruelly over-taxed peasants, and keeping them in a condition of perpetual, hopeless, grinding poverty, in such a state of absolute destitution as is probably not to be equalled in any other country in the world.

It is really no excuse for such writings that the author knows nothing of the other countries of the world, and that he is only saying that which has been imparted to him from interested sources. The point is that the Socialists of England offer to join hands with the revolutionaries of India, and at the same time ex-officials in Parliament, of whom Sir Henry Cotton may be taken as an example, indulge in incessant denunciation of the British Indian Government.

Sir H. Cotton published a book in 1907 describing our rule as "suited to a slavish and ignoble population," saying that "the principal object of the Indian Government should be to apply itself

to the peaceful reconstruction of an Indian administration in its place," and recommending "the withdrawal of military support from England, which would not be injurious to Anglo-Indians, because they would in that case be constrained in their own interests to adopt a more conciliatory demeanour towards the people of the country"!

Such writings as these inevitably fan the flame of sedition, whatever be the intention of their authors, who simply dance to the tune called by the Congress representatives of the upper, aristocratic, and legal classes, who are financed by the landlords, to protect whose tenants the British Indian Government has had to pass repeated tenancy Acts.

So little solidarity is there between those who finance the agitators, and those whom the agitators pretend to represent.

In fact, a class is growing up which is wholly out of sympathy alike with natives of India and natives of Europe. It is from an Indian journal that the following words are quoted: "The spirit of rationalism and criticism evoked by occidental lore has undermined the foundations of Aryan faith and religion."

This is the simple truth, but agitators find that openly expressed contempt for the religion and customs of India cuts them off from the masses, and now the curious spectacle presents itself of England-visiting, caste-renouncing Bengalis denouncing the

impurities of sugar-refining and cotton-sizing as practised by the English for the destruction of the sacred caste of the Hindu purchaser!

It must not for a moment be supposed that the whole vernacular press is disaffected. Indeed most of the journals in other than Bengali and Deccani hands, the Parsee and Mahomedan newspapers, for instance, are distinctly loyal, and there are still many Hindu issues of which as much may be said.

The Parsees, as practical people, dread the results of the agitation, and will have nothing to do with the Bengali, in whom they have no confidence, and for whose business capacity they entertain the profoundest contempt.

The Parsee press also denounces those English newspapers which vilify the British in India, and wisely dwells upon the infinite mischief done by encouraging the impression that a Liberal Government will regard any agitation as an expression of public feeling, and will yield to any demands, however unreasonable. Lord Morley has done more than any other man to destroy this disastrous illusion.

The Mahratta press, which is for the most part under Brahmin management, is violently anti-British, and its controllers belong to the same class as the disaffected in Bengal—namely, landlords, lawyers, money-lenders, priests, and clerks in the Government service. The hostile Brahmins of

Poona are not Mahrattas, except in the sense that they live in the Mahratta country, and they represent nothing but their own caste, the most exclusive and aristocratic in the world, and, it may be added, possessed of marvellous capacity for intrigue, and of such subtle skill as has enabled them to persuade the Democrats and Socialists of England to join hands with them against the masses of their fellow-countrymen.

In Madras the agitation failed to produce much impression on press or public, but the press of Bengal and Poona, and to a less degree that of Bombay and the Punjab, has been one of the chief factors, and, after education, the chief factor, in bringing about the present seditious movement.

It is natural to dwell upon this aspect of affairs in India, but the loyal support which the Government receives attracts less attention. Not only the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, two-thirds of the whole population, but also the Hindu tenants, have made a protest, not against the partition, but against the agitation against the partition, and against the boycott, which the agitators endeavour to enforce, to the great inconvenience of the people.

Repeated resolutions condemning the anti-British agitation have been passed at meetings in Bengal and Oudh, and individual Maharajas and Nawabs have rebuked individual agitators, Indian and English.

Ruling princes have come to the aid of the Government by proclamations, by letters to the *Times*, and by action taken in their own States, and have pointed out what every one knows in India, and no one grasps in England, that the acts of the Bengali agitators are in no sense those of the Indian peoples. The greatest of Indian princes have, moreover, denied that the Government of India and its servants are unsympathetic. In a sense they are, no doubt, because perfect impartiality among many peoples of different creeds does not allow of sympathy with one, when such, as is usually the case, connotes antipathy against another, class.

The Indian National Congress, which is Hindu, but is not national—for in India are many nations, most of which take no interest in its proceedings—has undergone a series of shocks in recent years. For two decades it pursued a quiet and uneventful career, annually passing the same resolutions, some of which were wise, and none of which could be fairly described as seditious.

It was subsequently rent asunder by schisms amongst its members, and became divided into two parties, the Moderates and Extremists, or Nationalists, as they now call themselves, in imitation of the Irish party in Parliament.

The more moderate men, under the leadership of Mr. Gokhale, were afraid of the attitude taken up by Mr. Tilak and Babu Bepin Chandra Pal,

both of whom have made acquaintance with the inside of the gaol in India in the last two or three years.

It is admitted that the Congress organisation consists of the "English educated middle classes," and, to make it national, the zemindars, merchants, and cultivators would have to be represented in its ranks, as well as the Mahomedans, who hold entirely aloof.

Such as it is, however, it must be regarded as committed to defiance of the law, since it declared boycott to be a legitimate weapon, and it is itself one of the causes and one of the effects of the agitation.

It is easier to describe the causes of unrest than to prescribe a remedy, but Parliament, in passing in 1909 the Indian Councils Act, introduced by Lord Morley, has taken, on the advice of that statesman, the best means available, under present circumstances, of dealing with so difficult a situation.

It must be admitted that it is impossible to actively engage in educating your subjects to believe that a certain form of government is good everywhere, in fact the only good form of government, and then to tell them it is good everywhere except in India, as soon as they ask for its application in their own case.

This Act, which will be more fully described elsewhere, goes quite as far as is safe in meeting

the legitimate aspirations of the English-educated classes, and had not Lord Morley possessed, to an unprecedented extent, the confidence of both great parties in the State, it would not have been possible to get through both Houses a measure so favourable to the views of the advanced party.

The fact has to be acknowledged that an aristocratic basis of government is natural to the peoples of India, that the masses hold their hereditary leaders in reverence, and that we should spare no pains to obtain the help of these leaders. We should, with their aid, develop indigenous institutions, as indeed the Decentralisation Commission has recommended, and as the Indian Councils Act recognised; for the fact is that our legal tribunals act as promoters of litigation, and are a solvent of all that is best and most solid in the framework of Indian society. Happily decentralisation is just now in the air. It is favoured at the India Office, and there can hardly be too much of it, if applied with discretion.

The separation of administrative and judicial functions is merely pressed by agitators because it will destroy the all-important influence of the District Officer, whose position should be improved and not impaired, if we are to continue to rule India.

The danger of alienating the Mahomedans, by yielding too far to the demands of the Brahmins and Babus, must never be forgotten; nor the fact

that Orientals do not believe in the existence of power that is not exercised, and cannot realise that a Government which permits a seditious press to pelt it with mud, can prevent the unedifying spectacle. It cannot, however, be alleged that for the last three years the Government has not taken action in this behalf, though probably such had been rather long delayed, and just now an Act has been passed by the Legislative Council of the Governor-General providing a new summary process for suppressing newspapers which encourage sedition, suborn assassination, and excite hatred against the Government.

Finally, the recognition of loyalists, even more than the conciliation of the disaffected, should be the care of a Government consisting of a few, set aloft among millions of aliens. Nowhere in the world are examples more effective than in such a setting.

CHAPTER XI

REFORMS—INDIAN COUNCILS ACT

It is very generally held, and the writer of these pages holds, that India is unfitted for democratic representative government by reason of its antagonism of interests, creeds, classes, and nationalities, its want of education, its caste system, its indifference to progress after the approved Western pattern, and its traditional and historical predilections. A class, however, has arisen which, taught by ourselves that political freedom and representative institutions are the birthright of every man, and the goal which all should strive to attain, refuses to regard such instruction as academic, and demands its practical and liberal application to India. The lawyers, journalists, and schoolmasters, who have inspired the agitation for representative institutions, for self-government after the colonial pattern, and for internal independence under the protection of British bayonets, are the chief constituents of this small but influential class, which corresponds more or less accurately in its composition, character and aims with what are known in Russia as the intelligent classes.

Notwithstanding the agitation they have carried on, Lord Morley and Lord Minto's Government decided to continue along the path of reform, to enlarge the Legislative Councils, and to promote the further extension of the employment of Indians in the government of the country.

The Indian Councils Act marks the close of one, and the opening of another epoch, in which it is officially admitted that the satisfaction of the legitimate claims of the classes at once intelligent and English-educated, is not only one of the objects, but is probably the most legitimate object of executive and legislative solicitude. The increasing alienation of these classes has for a long time been notorious, and as there is no counter-movement in our favour, it is reasonable to conclude that the masses will in time be, to some extent at any rate, infected with the spirit of opposition to British rule. What had to be feared at the time when Lord Morley took the situation in hand was not another mutiny, but a movement likely to culminate in estrangement of the peoples of India, a feature which was wholly wanting in the military revolt of 1857, than which, indeed, it would be of an even more serious character.

In pursuance of his declared policy, Lord Morley appointed two Indian gentlemen to sit upon his own Council—a bold innovation, which has, however, met with general approval, the gentlemen he selected,

one a Hindu and one a Mahomedan, being by common consent exceptionally well fitted for their exalted office.

True, the Congress orators have objected to them, but one chief object of all reform in India must be to provide that in future representatives of other classes than their own shall be included in sufficient numbers in the administration.

Under the system of election in force prior to the passing of Lord Morley's Act, no one who was not a nominee of the Congress party had a chance of sitting in the Councils, though it is notorious that that party is not representative of the many peoples of India, but of class and caste interests, and that the Mahomedans, Rajputs, Sikhs, and also the lower-class and lower-caste Hindus are opposed to its policy, and have no love for the lawyers and politicians, who are its leading exponents.

The lower castes and classes see the insincerity of the agitators, and the personal motives which too often inspire their actions. It does not require a trained critic to appreciate the fact that the claim for representative institutions of the Western pattern is founded upon the assimilation of Western civilisation, and that the latter cannot be said to have permeated the Indian social system, while compulsory widowhood, infant marriage, polygamy, and the worship, particularly in Bengal, of goddesses,

such as the ferocious Kali, flourish, not only without condemnation, but with the marked approval of the upper castes and classes, who set the fashions, which those below slavishly follow.

It would be affectation to ignore the fact that it is in Bengal, from which the demand for representative institutions chiefly proceed, that the most licentious and degraded forms of Hindu superstition are most practised, and in which the strongest opposition was offered to the Age of Consent Act in 1890.

The proposals for reform which, with modifications, additions, and omissions, eventually became law as the Indian Councils Act, 1909, originally included the establishment of advisory councils of notables to assist the provincial governments, and the enlargement of the Legislative Councils of the Governor-General, Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, upon all of which at that time the maintenance of an official majority was considered a necessary condition, and was assured.

This scheme was referred for consideration to the Local Governments, municipal, local, and public bodies, corporations, and associations, and to innumerable individuals whose opinion was thought to be of special value, or likely to elucidate in any way the difficult problems involved.

It was not, as originally drafted, acceptable to the leaders of the advanced party, or indeed to the

more moderate section, which, however, approved it with the alterations and modifications subsequently introduced.

Of these the most important were the abandonment of the scheme of advisory councils, upon which the ruling chiefs could hardly be expected to serve on terms of equality with men they would regard as middle-class parvenus and as professional politicians, the abandonment of the official majority in the Provincial Legislative Councils, alterations in the method to be followed in the election of Mahomedan members, and the appointment of a native of India to the Executive, or Cabinet Council of India, though this last all-important innovation cannot properly be described as an alteration of a scheme of which it forms no part. It is now, however, a great feature of the reforms, and it has naturally been hotly debated, and has elicited equally violent condemnation and approval in different quarters.

The gentleman selected to succeed Sir Erle Richards as legal member of the Governor-General's Council is Mr. Sinha, late Advocate-General of Bengal, and no one has yet been found to deny his fitness for the post from a legal and personal point of view. Indeed, the selection is admitted to have been the happiest possible, even by those who condemn the policy of making the appointment.

Whether a native of India can possibly fill with success the post of member of the Executive Council

of the Viceroy has yet to be proved, but if the experiment was to be made the particular office selected was obviously most suitable, for its occupant is not placed in a position of administrative superiority over natives of Europe as well as natives of India in the public service. Though a member of the Executive Council and entitled to vote on all questions, his own peculiar functions are rather of an advisory character, and indeed some of his predecessors have declined to take any part in the executive work of the Government over and above giving legal opinions on questions referred to them, and dealing with the drafting of Bills before the Council.

Now the mere drafting of statutes by native lawyers of India can be open to no possible objection—indeed it would be hard to find men better fitted for the work. The danger lies in the appointment assuming a racial aspect, which Lord Morley has entirely repudiated on the altogether simple and unassailable ground that the best man available has been appointed without regard to his nationality, and nothing has been done to prejudice the claim of the best man in future, whatever be his race, creed, or colour.

The appointment of Mr. Sinha, however, is no doubt a step in the direction of that surrender of race privilege, which those whose acquaintance with the administration of the British Empire is more

theoretical than practical will on that account approve. It is not by any means for this reason that practical men will acquiesce in the step taken, but because it obviously deprives those who cry out that their race is a badge of inferiority of the last vestige of justification for such a complaint. There is no promise that the experiment will be repeated, but one appointment on the Governor-General's Council, it may safely be inferred, will in future always be held by a native of India, and it is desirable to the last degree that the gentleman selected should alternately be Hindu and Mahomedan, unless the latter religionists are to be provided with a ready-made and real grievance, greater than that which in the case of the Hindu has been removed.

The numbers of the non-official and elected members of the Legislative Councils of Bombay, Madras, Bengal, the United Provinces, Eastern Bengal, and Assam, and the Punjab have been doubled, that of Burma has been increased, fuller play has been given to the elective principle, the range of which has been enlarged so as to afford representation to the all-important class of land-owners, and to the not less valuable English commercial community as well as to the professional middle classes, to use the expression of the Government of India, which consists chiefly of lawyers and of members of the intelligent classes

and castes, who are generally lumped together as Babus, that being the honorific title in use among themselves in Bengal, in certain centres of which they exercise very considerable influence.

The Government of India, after making exhaustive inquiries, decided that representation by class and interests was the only practical method of embodying the elective principle in the constitution of the Indian Legislative Councils. Lord Morley, while agreeing that the system recommended by the Government of India was suited to limited electorates, thought that in regard to minorities so important as the Mahomedans a system should be devised somewhat similar to that already adopted in regard to District Boards and Municipalities, which do not practise direct election, but choose electors, who return a representative of the group. The Mahomedans, however, protested that their representative should be returned on a separate register, and urged with much force that, under the collegiate system, persons not representing Mahomedan feeling would have a better chance of being returned than men whom they themselves regarded as truly representative.

The expedient of a double register has proved very successful in the Austrian Empire as a means of preventing national conflicts, and separate representation for the Mahomedans is obviously the device most likely to prevent the strife and riot

which would probably attend a contested election upon a mixed register.

The strong objections raised by the Hindus, who after all are four-fifths of the population, had, however, necessarily to be allowed considerable weight.

The mere numerical test, moreover, breaks down, because for census and classification purposes nearly all those who are not Mahomedans are described as Hindus, though only a small percentage would be recognised as such by the upper castes, millions being in fact animists, devil worshippers, and devotees of sundry more or less gross superstitions. Though there is weight in this objection it obviously must not be pressed too far, since Hinduism is allowed to include the widest range of polytheism and pantheism in its fold. The whole question was warmly debated in the House of Commons, and was in the end wisely left for settlement by the Government of India, which has to determine the conditions of election. Lord Morley and Lord Minto have before and since the passing of the Act been actively occupied in endeavouring to satisfy the Mahomedans without rousing the susceptibilities of the Hindus, who are jealous of the adoption of any but the numerical test, which of course insures to them complete predominance over the Mahomedan fifth of the population. The followers of the Prophet,

on the other hand, are not likely to forget that they were for centuries the ruling race in India, and that they have special claims founded upon historical tradition as well as upon present circumstances, claims the validity and force of which indeed both Lord Morley and Lord Minto have fully admitted.

Another respect in which Lord Morley differed from the Government of India was in insisting that the latter should maintain an official majority upon its Legislative Council, and not merely take power to create it whenever circumstances required such a step to be taken.

These alterations did not meet with universal approval, but the writer of these pages, who was for four years one of the members of the Governor-General's Council for making Laws and Regulations, strongly holds that this modification was absolutely necessary. It is a commonplace argument of the native press that the Legislative is over and above the Executive Council, and in a sense the contention is hard to refute.

A question that does arise is whether it was wise to adopt the recommendation of the Government of India that the official majority on the provincial legislative councils should be abandoned. It is of course true that the passing of a measure of which the Government disapproves in a provincial legislative council is not an irreparable

disaster, as the Governor can refuse his consent; but the frequent exercise of this veto is open to considerable objections, and there are many who regard with some misgivings this concession, though it is by no means as great as at first sight appears, for every provincial government is under the control of the Governor-General in Council, upon whose Council the official majority remains unimpaired. Nevertheless, it will be a bad day for British prestige in India when Bills are carried in the councils of provinces, which are in fact vast and populous kingdoms, against the local governments concerned.

The mischief would not be irreparable, but to repair it would strain the machinery and give much occasion for thought. The provincial councils may in future, and indeed are very likely to, reject legislation introduced for the protection of tenants from landlords, and the Provincial Government will in that case either have to leave the tenants unprotected, or invoke the legislative aid of the Governor-General's Council, on which an official majority is assured, which will not prove a popular proceeding with the friends of representative government. The probability is that in such a case the tenants will go to the wall, and it is only another of many proofs of the complete manner in which the representatives of the classes in India have hoodwinked the representatives of democracy in the British Parliament.

Nor in this connection should it be forgotten that the check on the election of extreme opponents of British rule which existed in the veto of the Viceroy, Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor is removed, since no confirmation at their hands is necessary under the new Councils Act. However regrettable the disappearance of this safeguard may appear, it must be frankly admitted that its retention would have been inconsistent with the whole spirit of Lord Morley's policy, and that half-hearted measures were not likely to be of any avail in the political conditions which had arrived. Provision is also made on the Reformed Legislative Councils for the representation of occasional minorities such as the Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Parsees, and the facilities for debate, for passing resolutions and asking questions, including supplementary interrogatories, are extended beyond the limits contemplated by the original scheme.

One of the most important reforms was the raising of the strength of the Executive Councils of Madras and Bombay to the maximum of four, which figure will also be adopted for the Councils of Lieutenant-Governors, when created. The present Presidential Council being three strong, nothing less than the addition of one member enables the Governor with his casting vote to be master in his own house, though he has of course

the power, which, however, he can hardly habitually use, to override the decisions of his Council.

One, perhaps the chief, object of this change is the appointment of an Indian member to each Council, which is obviously contemplated, and since Lord Morley has put one native gentleman upon the Viceroy's Council, and two upon his own, the further extension of the principle to the Presidential and Provincial Councils might naturally be expected to follow in no long time. It has been stated above that Lord Morley's Bill, as introduced, gave the Indian Government power to create Executive Councils for Lieutenant-Governors at its pleasure, but that it has been finally decided to create such a Council for Bengal only, for the present, and to provide that Councils can be created by the Government of India for the Lieutenant-Governors of other Provinces, subject to the power of both Houses of Parliament to present an address against the Government of India's Proclamation.

The demand for Councils for Lieutenant-Governors proceeds solely from the advanced reformers, who would also prefer that a Governor from England should be appointed instead of a Lieutenant-Governor from the Indian Civil Service. The latter officers are not very plastic material, and know exactly to what extent any demand represents the wishes and feelings of the people. Governors newly arrived from England

cannot have this knowledge, but when provided with a Council of which two members may be natives, it is not improbable that they would prove somewhat amenable to pressure. At any rate they would be more ready to take for granted the claims of prominent local politicians to represent general public opinion.

The cost of Councillors will be very considerable, but while the Babu class will get the appointments, it has yet to be proved that the general taxpayer will get anything more than an increase in taxation, and there is certainly no proof that he displays any interest in this matter. Nor should it ever be forgotten that the popular feeling to which the Government of India refers, in its despatches upon these reforms, is the feeling of the professional middle or Babu class, which owns the vernacular press, whereby the boycott and svaraj agitations are carried on, and which mans the Congress, but that the masses of the people regard the British official as their protector against this class, for which they have little love, since by it they are, as they well know, regarded as creatures of an inferior clay, on the lowest rungs of the caste ladder, as hardly human beings.

Great Liberal statesmen, from Mr. Gladstone to Lord Morley, have declared that Parliamentary representation in the congeries of countries, conveniently described as India, is out of the question.

Any advance, therefore, in that direction must be carefully watched, and all progress on these lines will be closely scrutinised by those who have first-hand knowledge of the many peoples, who are, again for the sake of comprehensive classification, but without any ethnological, geographical, social, linguistic, or scientifically political reasons, now described as Indians.

Lord Morley has certainly to be congratulated in that he has succeeded in satisfying the legitimate demands of the Mahomedans, who gained their case by temperate representation, an admirable example to those who have adopted methods of violence and intimidation.

The first elections to the Indian Councils have provoked a hostile manifesto from certain Bengali leaders, condemning the Regulations framed by the Indian Government as an "ordinance of exclusion," though Babu Surendranath Banerji had already, with what might well be considered unnecessary haste, been specially exempted from the rule against the candidature of persons dismissed from the Government service, and the condition that local self-governing bodies should only be represented by members thereof, had been modified so as to allow of the candidature of persons who had served on local boards and municipalities for any period or periods amounting in the aggregate to three years.

Complaint was also made in this manifesto that the educated community, to whose efforts the reforms are therein attributed, were being reduced to an insignificant minority. By the educated community is here meant the English-educated and English-speaking portion of the population, and in Congress parlance, natives of India, however educated and cultured, are not counted as members of this class if they have not been denationalised in the schools and colleges provided by the English Government. In short, the Congress party claims that the professional middle classes, a product of our Government educational system, are the educated community.

The latest Labour member traveller of course hastens to accept the theories of his Indian guides, and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, following in the footsteps of Mr. Keir Hardie, adopts wholesale the Congress policy. But in point of fact even the English-educated community and the Congress party are not identical. In British India the number of persons acquainted with English, including schoolboys and students, is not quite a million, and adding the English literates of native States is not more than 1,125,000 out of the 294,361,000 inhabitants of India, and the former figure includes Europeans, Eurasians, and the native Christian community, numbering upwards of 300,000, for whom, and for 103,000 English-speaking

Mahomedans, and a large number of Government servants of Indian birth, nobody would pretend that the Bengali political leaders are in any way competent to speak. When further reductions are made for other communities who take no part in political agitation, there remain in all India 685,000 persons knowing or learning English. And can the Bengali leaders speak even for so many? Some are Rajputs, and other Hindus who are notoriously hostile to the Congress policy, while amongst the Congressmen dissensions have risen to such a pitch that its annual meetings are with difficulty held.

These figures prove what is known to all persons acquainted with the East, that an infinitesimal proportion of the inhabitants of the continent are represented by those who regard themselves, and indeed to a great extent have been by Government regarded, as exponents of educated opinion in India.

The first elections to the Provincial Councils had taken place just as these pages go to press, and they abundantly prove that the educated Indian element will predominate. Of 284 members of the new Legislative Councils of seven Provinces, the nominated and other official members cannot exceed 113, while of the remaining seats, 123 are devoted to the representation of special interests, 54 being given to local self-governing bodies, and

5 to the Universities, while no less than 67 are allotted on the principles for the acceptance of which the Bengali leaders clamour. For instance, trade and industry have 16 members, and 5 of these must necessarily be Indians, while the same number only is allotted to the all-important planting industry. Indeed it is not likely that much more than a dozen of the 123 hypothecated seats will fall to members of the governing community. So little justification is there for complaints made of favour shown towards the Mahomedans, that only 18 out of 284 seats are allotted to this community, which comprises no less than 23 per cent. of the population of British India.

That 16 seats should be kept for landowners must be regarded as very moderate representation of that interest in a continent in which upwards of 70 per cent. of the people are dependent upon agriculture. In short, out of 123 hypothecated seats not less than 100 will probably be filled by English-educated Indians, who will be eligible as candidates, and will almost invariably be elected for more than four-fifths of them, nor is it likely to happen that of the remaining 34 nominated non-official members a large proportion will not be men satisfying the Bengali standards.

It should be very obvious from these figures that there is no justification for these complaints, and that the policy of the Government has been

that of inclusion, not exclusion, of classes and interests, while no class or interest will profit so largely as the English-educated community, which the Bengali and Deccani leaders claim to represent.

It is devoutly to be desired that no future Secretary of State or Viceroy of India will fail to appreciate the fact that Lord Morley, the author of these reforms, has plainly stated that the ultimate executive power will not be, and cannot be abandoned; and if the Government, acting on knowledge which the public did not possess, was obliged to take steps which did not commend themselves to the majority of the Councils, they would nevertheless not hesitate to accept that responsibility.

CHAPTER XII

SOCIAL LIFE IN INDIA—CASTE-RELIGION

If a native of Europe were asked by a stranger, "Who are you?" he would reply, "I am an Englishman, Frenchman, or German," as the case might be. His nationality would come first to his lips. But if a stranger were to ask a native of India the same question, he would say, if he could, "I am a Brahmin," and, if not, name the caste to which he belongs. The last thing that would occur to him would be to say, "I am an Indian." The expression is meaningless, and conveys nothing to the mind of a native of any of the different countries in that great continent.

Of course, the general domination of Britain produces some sense of solidarity in those who have been brought up in our schools and colleges, and have been taught to consider nationality a necessary concomitant of a knowledge of English, which they assimilate with extraordinary ease.

Except in regard to these classes, who are 1 per cent. of the population, caste remains the great dividing line, the one essential label.

Caste questions are, therefore, the most important when social life in India is under consideration, and until the political agitation waxed acute, what was known as social reform was regarded as the end and object of the advanced English-educated class in India. In the early days of reform, members of this class delighted to exhibit their superiority to the prejudices of their kind. A life of Ramtanu Lahiri, schoolmaster, Brahmin, and reformer, who died 1898, published in 1907 under the title "A History of the Renaissance in Bengal," exhibits this "Arnold of Bengal" as relishing the pleasure of drink, the fathers of reform having imbibed this habit, which was regarded by them as a sign of education. Even students in their teens were tipplers. Feasting on meat cooked in Mahomedan shops was regarded as a sign of courage, and the credit of the reformer depended on the degree to which he indulged in such revelries. One Babu, Ramtanu's friend and associate, wrote: "That wine is an abomination and drinking a great sin has been the belief in this country, but we cannot but admit this belief is erroneous. Can a practice so universal among the intelligent and civilised nations of the world be anything but highly salutary and commendable. How shall we Indians become civilised and our country freed from the sway of error and superstition if we abstain from wine? The alumni of the Hindu college, who set themselves up as

reformers, all drink." The reformers generally in Ramtanu's day reviled the Hindu religion, and would shout in the ears of the orthodox, "We eat beef." It subsequently became apparent to agitators, adepts in intrigue, that they put themselves out of court by this conduct; and for the last few years not only have they affected respect for the prejudices, religious and social, of the masses, but they have professed belief in the more obscurantist forms of Hinduism, in the most material, most idolatrous, and, it may be said, most degrading aspects of a religion, which embraces every shade of belief from monotheism to pantheism, and from abstract philosophic reasoning to animism and downright devil worship.

Social reform meanwhile has receded into the background.

There is a good deal of unfriendly feeling with regard to female education. The masses no doubt think that it is likely to make women independent and immoral, and they are convinced that customs and institutions which have stood the test of centuries possess surpassing merits, and who shall say that there is not at least some sense in such reasoning? Indeed, many of the agitators, who prate of the emancipation of women upon the platform, in their private families observe to the letter the ancient law, and stand firmly on the old world ways.

The disinterment of an ancient test from the Shastras in favour of some reform has no effect whatever on the average Indian, who is quite shrewd enough to know that the devil sometimes for his own purposes quotes Scripture. The fact is that social legislation in India is already far in advance of public opinion, and the Age of Consent Act, for example, has proved a dead-letter.

Infant marriage, instead of being abandoned, is probably on the increase, and the very stronghold of this practice is a province in the van of the cyclonic march of progress, Bengal. It is by no means so certain, as is contended, that this custom, which is the subject of gross exaggeration and misrepresentation, is not the best for the countries and the peoples in which it obtains, and it is quite certain that the resultant evils have been habitually represented as far greater than they really are by missionaries, whose information and impartiality are not always equal to their zeal and sincerity.

The Hindu system finds a husband for every woman, and gives every man a wife; and even in Bengal, where the figures are highest, only one-fifth of the women are widows, as against one-tenth in England, while the number of unmarried women is enormously larger in England than in Bengal. The evils brought about by this compulsory celibacy are probably by no means less than those produced by infant marriage and the resulting more frequent

widowhood. Nor is an army of young widows, who are not allowed to remarry, any worse off than the proportionately far larger number of young women who have never been able, and are never likely to be able, to marry at all in Europe.

It is of course true that the high castes are a comparatively small proportion of the population; but so surely do the lower castes copy the habits and customs of their betters, that a description of the life and conversation of the Brahmins might fairly be taken as typical of that of the upper classes of natives in most parts of India. There is no give and take in these matters. The Brahmin is the model upon which all others, after their lights, must endeavour to fashion themselves.

Ritual plays a great part in his life and conversation. The building of his house, for instance, must be undertaken at an auspicious season, and it must be built according to caste rules. It must have a blank wall towards the street to provide for privacy, and its kitchen must be the best, not the most remote and indifferent, of all the rooms, for the preparation and consumption of food are almost religious rites, and the kitchen is in fact a temple, into which no person below the caste of the owner may enter. A Brahmin may cook for a man of lower caste, but he will only cook food he himself might consume, and if the shadow of his master fell upon it he would not eat it himself.

In the central verandah those sacred creatures, the cows, may be and often are, stabled.

In the living rooms, even in the houses of the richest, there is very little furniture, though they may keep a guest-chamber filled with all sorts of superfluous things, in which to receive Europeans, who for some reason, inexplicable to the Indian, have adopted so comprehensive and embarrassing a standard of requirements.

The owners of the house sleep on the floor, and though the rich sometimes use a string bed, no one would object to following the common practice.

Getting up in the morning, brushing the teeth, bathing, praying, putting on caste marks, and reciting texts, are incidents of the early part of the day with a Brahmin; and he, in like manner with the poorer man, eats a light meal in the morning, and the chief feast of the day comes about noon, when a prodigious amount of food is consumed.

Mr. Keir Hardie, who lately undertook to enlighten the British public on India, stated that as much seed as would satisfy a canary was the usual meal of an Indian, and of course he adopts the good old tale that natives of India have only one meal a day. The fact is that all have three meals of some kind, and that the relative time and importance of these functions do not greatly differ from what obtains among Europeans, though the food amongst the high castes is of necessity, and amongst the low

castes usually, of a vegetarian character. The weight and amount of food consumed is as a fact greatly in excess of that of the average European. It is always eaten with the right hand off a leaf, and water—for no Hindu should, or as a rule does, the English-educated excepted, drink alcohol—is poured into the mouth, so that neither the vessel in which it is contained, nor the liquid itself, touches the lips. Nothing contaminates more than labial contact, and kissing is regarded as a downright disgusting practice, and never indulged in under any circumstances by Hindus. There is more praying at lamp-lighting time, just after the cows come home; but, of course, these observances are very much cut down from the ideal, and perhaps in the case of most Brahmins, the real, standard.

Hindus do not go to the temple as we go to church, but worship is duly performed each day at the shrine by the priest on duty, just as Mass is said in the Catholic Church, whether or not any one is present. The women pray much less, though their prayers are very sensible and commendable, and her late Majesty Queen Victoria showed herself much interested in them, and was at considerable pains to secure trustworthy translations, some of which the writer had the honour to prepare.

But if the women do not pray much, there is no limit to the worship they may bestow on their husbands, and however little this programme may

suit the so-called emancipated women of Western Europe, it is one that conduces to much affection and esteem between husband and wife, and well accords with the Hindu sacramental conception of marriage. Nothing could be more beautiful than the Hindu ideals of marriage, with which the theory, and still more the practice in this behalf of Western Europe and America, most unfavourably contrast.

In the lower classes the women work hard with, and earn nearly as much as, their husbands, the children helping according to their degree, quite small creatures making their mite after their powers.

There is much simple kindly feeling and charity in the ordinary Indian peasant's household. He is contented with his lot, and so far is deaf to the voice of the agitator, who for personal reasons points out to him that he ought to be miserable and oppressed.

In ordinary years his family lives in tolerable comfort, but when prices rise in time of agricultural scarcity he has to take to Outdoor—which has been unwisely described as Famine—Relief. The so-called Famine Code is one of the most practical and scientific instruments ever elaborated by administrative man, and no one need now die of want in India, any more than any one need starve at home, while our English poor law is in operation.

The lower down the scale the less the observance of prayers, rites, and ceremonies, till the animists do little more than make obeisance to the sun in the morning, to the lamp at night, and bow before the painted stone strewn with flowers as they pass it on their way to and from the village and the fields.

The Hindu, provided he observes the rules of his caste, is pretty free to do what he pleases, within certain limitations, and no one of them is bound to believe more than he likes of his own religion. Only the philosophically minded probably trouble about the division into dualists, who believe that the human will and the material world have distinct existences, and the non-dualists, who believe that nothing has any separate existence from the one God. Not one Hindu in a thousand troubles himself about such matters, but most of them worship Siva, or Vishnu, generally in the latter case in one or other of his manifestations or incarnations.

It is a singular thing, and marks abysmal incapacity to approach the very threshold of knowledge on the part of the English public, that it never realises that though caste is the guiding-star of the inhabitants of India, those who are accepted in England as authorities on Indian political and other subjects, are invariably those who have shaken off what they call its trammels, and eat beef and drink brandy like Europeans, and, like them, by no

means necessarily, to excess. For a Hindu to do either a little is, however, as bad as to do either to excess.

It is small wonder that scant justice is done to the real character and disposition of the amiable and admirable peoples of India, so utterly unlike those who profess to represent them.

Marriage is the great event in any man or woman's life, and eating and drinking and giving of presents form as prominent a part of the entry into the holy estate in India, as these functions do in England. The ordinary peasant will squander all he has and borrow more for his marriage, and there are many knowing the country well who think that all the margin which our taxation allows the peasant to enjoy, and any further savings that he may be able to accumulate by reduction of rent or taxation, merely result in each individual case in his borrowing up to the limit of his larger credit, and spending greater sums than ever upon marriage and other ceremonies.

Though no wine is drunk amongst the upper classes, except by the English-educated, intoxicating drinks have always been used in India from very early times. Such use, however, was always confined to the lower castes, and drinking was, and still is, considered a degrading vice. It would conduce greatly to the comfort of the poorer classes if tea-drinking became a more common practice,

because in that event they would, besides enjoying a refreshing stimulant and new luxury, drink water that had been boiled, a most necessary precaution, but a hopeless one, to suggest to people who regard the element as so pure that it is incapable of contamination, and drink it without any qualms, however unfit for human consumption. The Government, however, has been persevering in the efforts initiated by Lord Curzon to bring about this desirable consummation, and it remains for the slow-moving masses to follow suit.

As at birth and marriage, so at death, there are many ceremonies. The Hindu must die on the ground, and the writer of these pages has seen the ex-minister of a great native State carried from his bed to lie beside the sacred stream and upon holy Mother Earth, which nothing can contaminate, that he might die as a Hindu should, and that his house might avoid pollution.

Most Hindus burn their dead, and some castes think that the departed spirit must be stayed with ceremonies lest it return and jibber about the precincts, which in its earthly envelope it once frequented. In no long time man is born again to run another course of mortal life, until at length, after many rebirths, to be endured with patience and resignation, the purified spirit qualifies for absorption into the Divine Essence.

Though the natural demeanour of the native of

India is one of the utmost gravity, this proceeds from his standard of deportment, which is high, and not from melancholy. There is no reason to believe that the Hindu home is sadder than that of other races, or at all sad. On the contrary, men and women alike have a strong taste for simple pleasures, and the females love a gossip and indulge in it, for amongst Hindus it is only the upper castes who, in parts of the continent, have borrowed the Mahomedan custom of seclusion behind the purdah. In a certain sense there is seclusion of women all over the East, for everywhere modesty requires that they should abstain from conversation with strangers, or from anything that could possibly be construed as a dereliction from the very high standards required of the Hindu wife, widow, and maiden.

It is a pleasure to quote the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, who elsewhere would appear to adopt the theory that the peasant is ground down by an alien administration, when he says: "The people of India dislike and disapprove the rapid introduction of modern Western methods. . . . There is not on the whole earth a more frugal and contented peasantry."

The writer of these pages, though he has endeavoured to see what he can of the world, is not in a position to speak for the whole earth, but he can confirm the statement that the people appear to be, as they probably are, tranquil and contented.

Many and great men might be quoted as witnesses to the merits of Hindus, untouched by Western education, and the writer of these pages accepts all these testimonies, and would add his own tribute of respect and affection for peoples admirable in all relations of domestic life, and though perhaps easily imposed upon by unscrupulous agitators, naturally less prone to think evil of their rulers than any others with which he has any acquaintance.

What Mr. Crooke, one of the best living authorities, says of the peasant of Northern India, is equally true of his brother in the South, and probably holds good of the Indian peasant at all points of the compass. Mr. Crooke says :—

" His life is one of ceaseless toil, but it enforces industry and temperance, and is compatible with a ready cheeriness which finds amusement in the veriest trifles."

It would be a great mistake to suppose that the wife of the peasant is nothing but a drudge. She is not perhaps worse off than her sister in similar grades in other parts of the world, and the same thing might be said of her husband.

Nor are the women behind the purdah, who are enormously pleased to find themselves there, and would never relinquish this sign of superiority, without amusement or occupation. Amongst the Mahomedans the rule is more strict, but in Persia,

where the purdah is universal, women enjoy very considerable liberty, not in spite of, but because of the disguise which it affords, and the resulting freedom from observation by husband or relations, whenever women leave the house, as of course, except in the case of the very highest classes, they do every day.

Abbé Dubois, who probably knew India better than any European before or since his day, while he says that no European Government in India will ever succeed in materially raising the condition of the depressed classes, yet finds in caste the best part of the Hindu system. But all this would be rejected wholesale by the caste-renouncing, England-visiting, flesh and wine consuming, reformers, who harangue and persuade the people of this country that their fellow-countrymen have appointed them to represent their wishes and aspirations, which, as a fact, are not usually centred upon Parliamentary institutions, and the further employment in the public service of the same self-appointed representatives.

Nevertheless, there is no word written here which cannot be confirmed from the writings of the greatest authorities about India, and even in many cases from the writings of some of the advanced reformers, before they found salvation, or when they expected to find it on different lines.

There remains the much-debated question of

intercourse between natives of Europe and natives of India, as to which it has to be decided first of all whether it is possible, and next whether it is desirable, that both should meet upon equal terms. Obviously it is desirable that the most friendly relations should exist, but is it likely that efforts to bring about reciprocity of social intercourse between peoples, who differ entirely in creed, colour, and custom, will be successful? The slightest effort on the part of the Englishman to penetrate into the women's quarters of the Mahomedan, or even of the Hindu, except upon the Malabar coast, would at once lead to a complete rupture of friendly relations. It is often argued that the Hindu and Mahomedan are to blame for not allowing reciprocity of intercourse in regard to the females of their respective families, but it is difficult to understand why this charge should be made.

In the case of a European it is his custom to introduce his friends to his wife. He would not be supposed to have met them in a friendly spirit if circumstances brought his women into potential contact with them, and wife and daughter held aloof. But there is no such feeling on the part of the Hindu or Mahomedan. He does not introduce his friends of his own colour, creed, and caste into his harem or zenana, and how, therefore, could it be expected of him that he should introduce men of an alien race to the annoyance of his own women,

who would thereby be exposed to the contempt of their own people.

So far from its being the case that the breaking down of these barriers would lead to more friendly intercourse, there is every reason to believe that the exact contrary would be the result.

It is not on these lines that the peoples of India and Europe are to be brought into closer communion, but by scrupulous respect on the one, for the habits, customs, and prejudices of the other, side.

The chief bar at present to friendly intercourse is the incapacity of almost every European to talk freely with the natives of India in their own languages, and here, at least, considerable advance is possible. Of course conversation is easy with the English-educated, but they are the non-representative 1 per cent. of the population. There are different fields in which the different races may meet on terms of equality, but none is more conspicuous than the sphere of sport, wherein in all countries a spirit of equality and mutual good feeling prevails.

Again how untenable is the contention that there can be no friendly relations until commensality is possible. It is, on the contrary, the fact that nothing is so certain to produce a rupture as an effort to make the different races sit together at meat, or to dip their hands together in the dish. Every

European feels this strongly in his own case, and every native of India is still more under the domination of the same feeling. Englishmen in their hearts think they are the cleanest feeders in the world, and often congratulate themselves upon their superiority over other European races in this respect. Indians, without the slightest shadow of a doubt, regard all European races, including the English, as unclean feeders. It may be objected that this is not the attitude of the English-educated. That is not by any means certain, but in any case one who has forsaken the gods of his fathers is hardly an authority on the feelings of those who regard him as an outcast.

Not so long ago in India, but in what is distinctly the past, irregular relations existed very commonly between natives of Europe and natives of India, but these have been abandoned since English women arrived in the country in sufficient numbers to provide Europeans with wives. The hopelessness of any attempt at fusion is proved by the results of such mixed marriages as sometimes occur. These have occasionally turned out satisfactorily in the case of Mahomedans, but as a rule experience tells another story with them, and almost universally with Hindus. Those who wish to study this subject cannot do better than read romances in which the relative social position between natives of Europe and India is treated with full knowledge

and sympathy by authors who thoroughly understand life among the natives and the half castes. Legitimate, are even more disastrous than illegitimate, relations with Hindu women, and the further development of Western education in India accentuates the domestic incompatibility of natives of India and of Europe.

CHAPTER XIII

NATIVE STATES—IMPERIAL SERVICE TROOPS—BRITISH RESIDENTS

THOUGH the native States of India extend over an area of 679,392 square miles, or 38 per cent. of the Indian Empire, and have a population of 62,461,549 out of a total of 294,361,056, their importance is but dimly recognised in England, or the fact that the ruling princes are the chief personal factors in the Empire.

Babus like Surendranath Banerji and Bepin Chandra Pal fill the public eye here, to the exclusion of great princes like the Nizam, the Maharaja of Mysore, Maharaja Sindhia, the ruling chiefs of Rajputana, the sacrosanct Maharaja of Travancore, and many others, from the rulers of States almost as large as Great Britain, down to the lords of kingdoms smaller than Monte Carlo. It is with a shock of surprise that even those who know something of India realise that native States occupy one-third of the area, and account for one-fifth of the population, of the Empire, and that one group alone, that of Rajputana, exceeds the size of the United Kingdom.

The Emperor of India is Suzerain of 675 Indian States, the rulers of which are privileged to legislate and administer justice, while the King-Emperor's Government reserves the right to make war or peace, and to negotiate with foreign powers and other native States in India, so that no chief can be described as externally independent.

With the exception of the protected princes of Rajputana, and the Malabar States of Travancore and Cochin, most of the others are of comparatively modern origin, and date from the time when the Mogul Empire was crumbling away, the Mahrattas were erecting predatory dominations on its ruins, and the English were building up an Empire of their own.

It was the policy of England to confirm the rulers who had just, or had hardly, consolidated themselves in their precarious seats, and interest, as well as personal loyalty—a force the power and vitality of which it would be very unwise to underrate—binds these powerful feudatories to ourselves. When it is said, and with much truth, that the British in India succeeded the Mahrattas, and not the Moguls, the statement must also be qualified by the important proviso that the Mahratta rule consisted merely of levying a fourth part of the revenue of all weaker powers, and that no real administration, even in the most elementary sense,

was ever attempted by these hardy and predatory horsemen.

The Nizam of Hyderabad, originally Lieutenant-Governor of the South for the Emperor at Delhi, was practically independent at the time of the rise of the Mahratta power.

Mysore is an ancient Hindu kingdom, restored by favour of the British to the Hindu family, which had been dispossessed by Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan.

Travancore and Cochin are old-world Hindu States, which ages ago were very much as they are now, or rather as they were until quite recently, before the intrusion of railways at the instance of the paramount power, and not on the initiative of ruler or ruled.

Nepaul is on a somewhat different footing from that of the other native States, and owing to its position and history enjoys greater independence, but its relations with foreign powers are under the control of the Government of India. Its area and population are not exactly known, and the Shan States of Burma, the Khasia and Jaintia Hills, Manipur and Bhutan, are not included in the figures of area and population above given.

The doctrine of lapse was abandoned, and the right of adoption recognised, by the British Government, under circumstances into which it is needless here to enter, but as lately as 1891 it was laid down in regard to Manipur that the sovereign power has

the right, and is under obligation, to settle the succession where necessary in protected States.

It is, however, clearly established that the privileges of ruling chiefs will be respected, and that they and their subjects are exempt from the laws of British India, and independent as regards their internal administration.

Peace is secured to them by the arms of the paramount power, and they are forbidden to employ without permission subjects of other European nations, while their own subjects outside their territory become practically British subjects. Thus the anarchist Krishnavarma's contention that he owes no allegiance to the British Government cannot be supported in fact, as soon as he leaves the native State to which he belongs, or pretends to belong.

As they cannot make war on one another these States need no armies, and cannot keep such, over and above a prescribed standard, and it is only at their own desire that they maintain troops, which in some cases, also at their own desire, are used as an Imperial Service Corps, under the inspection of British officers, and when placed by the native chief concerned at the disposal of the Indian Government, are then, and then only, available for use alongside British Indian troops.

It is quite untrue, therefore, as was stated in a little book lately published by Mr. Keir Hardie,

that every native State is under obligation to maintain troops to assist the British Indian army. The case of the Hyderabad contingent is of a peculiar character and subject to special treaties, which were entered into at a time when the Nizam and the British were far more nearly on equal terms in India than is now the case.

The British claim to exercise, in cases of serious misgovernment, the right to interfere, or even to assume the administration of native States. In this way Mysore was taken over and managed by the Indian Government for fifty years, with the result that its administration has remained practically British in type since its restoration, on his attaining his majority, to the young Maharaja, who had been adopted by the prince, whose misgovernment led to the assumption of control by the British.

Similarly the late Gaekwar of Baroda was deposed, and other less conspicuous examples might be quoted from Rajput and other States.

The powers of the Governor in Council in the territory of ruling chiefs are exercised through political officers generally known as British Residents, who are either civil servants or members of the Indian army in civil employ. Of the two classes, at any rate in native States in political relations with Provincial Governments, a military officer of special training is to be preferred, because the inevitable tendency of civil servants is

to endeavour to introduce methods of administration like those to which they have themselves been accustomed.

The same remark applies to the Dewans or Prime Ministers of native States, who are appointed by the ruling chief concerned, but whose appointment requires the confirmation of the British Indian Government, and it is to be feared that not infrequently these Ministers are appointed on the advice of the Resident, rather than upon the initiative of the ruling chief, which it is the declared policy of the Government of India to respect. Where such Ministers have previously been employed as administrators in British territory, they take office with an ineradicable tendency to introduce British standards. Thus in many cases the precious individuality of the native State, and its value as a standard of comparison with British India, is lost, or impaired, by the unnecessary and indeed undesirable interference of Ministers whose duty it should be to preserve, and not overthrow the native system they find in being.

Thus, given a Resident who is a civil servant from the neighbouring Local Government, and a Minister who is also a servant of the same Government, lent for a term of years to the native State, the ruling chief, unless he has an exceptionally masterful personality, will inevitably find his initiative impaired and his powers of control compromised.

It is much to be desired that Residents who are appointed by Local Governments should be sternly forbidden to attempt to administer native States after the British fashion, that Ministers should be chosen from the inhabitants of the State itself, and that they should be left to manage affairs in concert with, and under the supervision of, the ruling chief, without interference except in cases of gross misgovernment.

Instructions to this effect are given by the Government of India, and there is clear evidence that Lord Morley and Lord Minto wish to jealously guard the rights of ruling chiefs. Nevertheless, in some cases, and particularly in respect of native States in political relations with Provincial Governments, the spirit of these instructions by no means inspires the Resident and the Local Government. This is the more unfortunate as ruling princes will not as a rule complain, and it is easy to understand their reasons for abstention.

It is not to be supposed from these remarks that ruling chiefs are discontented. Indeed the contrary is the fact, but that is only another reason for the most scrupulous, and even meticulous, recognition of their rights.

Nothing could be better than their attitude has been throughout the recent unrest in India. Ruling chief after ruling chief, by means of resolutions, meetings, and letters to the *Times*, has repudiated

misrepresentations of the British Government which have appeared day by day for some years past in the vernacular press, nor has one of them been slow to take the necessary action for stamping out sedition in his own State.

In Mysore, which is often held up by ignorant critics as an example to British India, of which it is of course a mere reflection, an exceedingly drastic press law providing for the expulsion and punishment of seditious journalists has just been passed. In many States men of this kind, the curse of modern India, are promptly ejected from native territory in which they have attempted to make mischief.

The Maharaja Sindhia, a most able, loyal, and enterprising prince, has just meted out prompt and severe punishment, such as natives of India understand and respect, to a gang of conspirators who within his territory attempted to plot against the British Government, and he said :—

"He who seeks to subvert the Government of His Majesty in India, a Government supremely humane and just, and which I have no doubt was ordained by Providence to bring happiness and prosperity to His Majesty's Indian subjects, is in my eyes at once a contemptible ingrate and a traitor to his own country."

His Highness also took a recent opportunity to emphasise, for the special guidance of students in

his schools and colleges, that his Government did not incur expenditure on their education in order to train them up as discontented and objectionable members of society. Possibly such is not the intention of the British Government.

Another prominent prince, the Maharaja of Jeypur, has just issued a regulation for prosecuting and punishing the preaching of sedition, and these great ruling chiefs, who are the natural leaders of the people, are, it should be understood, at the opposite pole from the position occupied by the Brahmin lawyers, who have organised the unrest, and, with their friends, are to profit by the new appointments created under the reforms, which came into force in the beginning of 1910.

The agitators continually put forward the example of the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, who is no doubt a very able prince, but one who is far from representing the feelings of his order, with which, indeed, in many respects he is entirely at variance. No one will deny that he is a good administrator and that his State is well governed, but it must be remembered that it is an exceptionally fertile tract of country, that the Maharaja is an innovator by temperament, and that, without in any way disparaging the condition of Baroda, it may fairly be stated that other States are quite as well administered. Indeed, if the extent to which coercive process is used in the collection of the

revenue be regarded as a test, as the anti-British party in Parliament often contend, the claims of Baroda must go by the board, for in this rich territory collection by coercive measures is far more common than in British India or in most other native States.

One of the reasons, it may be conjectured, for the abandonment of the original proposal made in connection with the reforms which lately came before Parliament, that Advisory Councils of Notables should be created to assist the Government of India, and to diffuse correct information regarding its acts and intentions, is that ruling chiefs could not be expected to sit with pleaders and professional middle-class people such as are now pushing their way to the front as exponents, as they claim, of public opinion. But the existence of such public opinion must be taken on trust, for the press which gives voice to it is the press which is under the thumbs of these gentlemen themselves.

The control exercised by the Supreme and Provincial Governments over native States varies in degree, but all are administered by the ruling chiefs through their Ministers, with the advice and assistance of a political agent appointed by the Government of India, and nearly all of them pay a tribute to the Government of India, which, however, does not in turn pay any tribute whatsoever to the Home Government.

Over and above its functions in connection with the native States, the Government of India is in political relations with Turkish Arabia at storied Baghdad, where a British Resident is maintained, with the barren rocks of Aden and the neighbouring Arab hinterland, with the grape-bearing furnace of Muscat, with the dreary islands of Perim and Socotra, with the Persian Gulf, that quiet inland sea which may some day perhaps become one of the storm centres of the world, with parts of the kingdom of Persia, with Afghanistan, with Siam, and with the empire of China, and its tributary province of Tibet. There are also the chiefs who dwell upon both shores of the Persian Gulf, who are more under the control of the British Resident at Bushire and the British Indian Steam Navigation Company than under that of the King of Kings at Teheran, or of the Caliph at Constantinople.

It is the British alone who put down slavery in the Persian Gulf, and notwithstanding the, in this respect only, unsatisfactory Anglo-Russian Convention, it is they chiefly who carry on trade and have a living interest in the shores of this burning inland sea, whereon the traveller melts away as he sits supine under an awning on the deck, in a summer temperature which far exceeds all Indian experience.

The Government of India has a very close interest

in the progress of the Baghdad Railway scheme, and it is most desirable that the British Government should negotiate as early as possible with the reformed Government of Turkey either to bring about the international control of the whole line, or as an alternative, or better as an addition, to obtain for Britain the construction of the Gulf section. Meanwhile we have been so far alive to the situation as to maintain our position as protectors of the Sheiks of Koweit and Bassein, petty potentates in whom great powers have nevertheless deigned to take an interest.

The Government of India has quite recently delimited the frontier between Persia, Baluchistan, and Afghanistan at the court of the King of which latter country it maintains an agent. For the Ameer's title of King is now recognised, and if personal power, extent of territory, and relative position amongst the Mahomedan States of the world be considered, it would be difficult to contest his claim to this coveted honour.

The ruler of Afghanistan occupies an uneasy throne, and a fanatical dislike of all Europeans is rather expected from him as a matter of course by the priests—

"The mullahs, the bigots who preach and pray."

Neither the Ameer or any of his successors should be hardly judged, for it may happen at any time

that while the ruler of Afghanistan appears perverse and unfriendly, he may nevertheless be doing his best to fulfil his engagements with the British in circumstances of no little difficulty. It is not every Afghan ruler who can say of the priests with the Ameer Abdul Rahman—

> "They trusted in texts, and forgot that the chooser of kings is a sword;
> There are twenty now silent and stark, for I showed them the ways of the Lord."

Not often do even the barren hills and hard conditions of life in Afghanistan breed such men as the late Ameer.

Upon the whole, with insignificant exceptions, peace has been preserved on the Afghan frontier since the great Tirah campaign. May it long continue, and may England never forget the devoted and efficient service of the brave soldiers and able diplomatists who serve her so well so far from the limelight of party politics, so remote from their demoralising influences.

The native princes of India proper are surely one of the most versatile and attractive bodies of men, which the imagination can well conceive. They are for the most part equally at home in society in India or Europe; they are loyal, brave, tactful, diplomatic, and well read, generally possessed of good judgment, and, occupying a secure

position themselves, are ready and anxious to respect the rights of others.

Whether the peoples of India are happier in native States or in British India is really a much less important question than might appear. A more or less common standard is imposed by the suzerainty of the British, and it may be safely stated that the inhabitants of India love to see their princes occupying a position, in some sense, of equality with the representative of the King-Emperor.

It is also the case that where the Indian princes really select their own Ministers from amongst the inhabitants of their own States, and obtain for them a fairly free hand, the personal element in the administration is of a less precise and scientific character, and is on that account more acceptable to a people who, loving litigation, hate lawyers, and regard them as the least suitable of all people to occupy the seats of the mighty.

CHAPTER XIV

PROGRESS OF THE LAST FIFTY YEARS

In the foregoing chapters I have endeavoured to briefly describe the physical aspects of India and its various languages and ethnology; in the most cursory fashion to glance at the wild life of the jungle, a fascinating and inexhaustible subject; to lightly limn the foundations of the British Government; to touch in passing upon the economics of modern India; to give a short description of the present position of the Indian army, particularly of Lord Kitchener's reforms, and of the manner of the administration of the Empire of British India. The Civil Service, by which that administration is carried on, has called for a chapter, and our system of education, fraught with such momentous, and by no means in all respects satisfactory, results, has been presented in its main features to the reader. The present political conditions obviously demand due notice, and out of that subject naturally arises an account of the reforms which have just been brought into being, and which cannot but result in vast changes in the administration

of the country; but which, it may be hoped, will do something to allay the growing discontent of a small, but highly articulate, class of the inhabitants of certain provinces of the Empire.

Social life in India is a theme upon which volumes might be written, and upon which, indeed, volumes have been written, by extremely well-qualified writers, from the Abbé Dubois to Mr. Crooke. It has only been possible for me to lightly touch upon this fascinating subject, and to briefly describe those native States, the preservation of which is so valuable as a proof of our good faith, and as a standard of comparison with our own British-Indian administration.

So much has been written, whether or not in good faith, whether or not with knowledge and information, in disparagement of the great administrative achievements of the British in India, that it appears appropriate to, and within the scope of, this little work, to shortly review some of the results of British rule in that congeries of countries, with widely differing physical characteristics, with various peoples speaking many languages, professing many creeds, and with greatly differing degrees of civilisation, which, as a matter of convenient classification, is commonly called India.

During the last fifty years, which have been less disturbed by internal warfare than any other period of equal length in the history of the

continent, the Government has been able to direct, and has assiduously directed, its attention towards internal progress and improvement. In spite of unfriendly and unsustainable criticisms of an alleged aggressive attitude on the part of the English in India, the rendition of Mysore restored to native rule a larger population and revenue than belongs to all the new territories acquired in the last fifty years.

It has already been stated elsewhere that the employment of Indians in the public service has been immensely increased during the last half century. Indeed eleven natives now occupy seats in the four highest Courts of Justice, and four are judges in the Judicial Commissioners' Courts. The Civil Service of India, from which the superior officers of the civil administration are drawn—a body of which a description has been given in Chapter VIII.—consists of 1244 members, of whom, owing to exigencies of climate, under 1000 are generally on duty. Of the highest classes of appointments, which were formerly reserved for what used to be called the Covenanted Civil Service of India, recruited in England by competitive examination, 51 appointments, including 17 headships of districts, and 26 district judgeships, all positions of the highest importance, are now open to the Provincial Civil Service, which is chiefly manned by natives of the country.

The Provincial Civil Service, as distinguished

from the Civil, formerly called Covenanted Civil, Service, comprises 2263 subordinate judges and magistrates, of whom 2067 are natives of India, and no appointment made in India with a salary of Rs.200 (£13) a month and upwards, can be filled by any other than natives of that country.

Thus while natives of Europe are excluded from all posts except those specially reserved for them, natives of India are admitted to a very considerable share of the highest offices formerly reserved for Europeans. Indeed the former now manage most of the revenue and magisterial work, and perform practically all the duties of the Civil Courts, and they are in receipt of salaries not surpassed in any country in Europe, except Great Britain.

The action taken by Lord Morley and Lord Minto to deal with the increasing work devolving upon all departments of Government has been described in Chapter VII.; but up to the date of the printing of these pages no orders have been passed on the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission. Nevertheless, during the last few years, the financial powers of Local Governments, and the general powers of municipal and other local bodies, have been largely increased; and measures have been taken to enable the Government to cope with the ever-growing burden of administration without largely adding to the cost.

As regards legislation, it is only necessary to quote Sir Henry Maine to the effect that British India is one of the few countries in the world in which men of moderate intelligence, who can read, may learn the law on any point in practical life.

An illustration of the nature of the criticism passed on British administration is afforded by the fact that nine-tenths of the civil suits, and more than three-quarters of the magisterial business, is disposed of by native judges and magistrates, and that there are upwards of three thousand honorary magistrates, nearly all natives of the country.

All civil suits and important criminal cases are tried by special judicial officers unconnected with the executive administration. Minor criminal cases are tried by officers who also exercise executive powers, but this union of executive and judicial functions has always existed in the East, and besides being of course more economical, is also approved by the general opinion of the masses of the people. The objections taken to the exercise of the joint functions really originated in a desire to impair the position of the head officers of the districts, who, though they practically do not exercise magisterial powers, still must possess such authority in order that they may occupy that position of influence and importance which is required for, and has from time immemorial attached in

the East to, the head of the government of each administrative unit.

Perpetual criticism has of late been levelled at the Police Department, which is nevertheless staffed by natives of India who are fair representatives of their fellow-countrymen, and contains a far smaller leaven of European supervisors than any other branch of the public service.

While great prominence has been given by Congress critics to the faults of the police in order to discredit action taken for the repression of sedition and political assassination, the heads of various provinces have recently acknowledged that the morale and intelligence of the force have been continuously improved. The system in being in Europe counts on the co-operation of the educated classes, but this is unfortunately at present entirely wanting in India. Indeed, for the last few years, crimes arising out of sedition and political agitation have generally been both organised and committed by members of the English-educated classes, and more often than not by Brahmins of high social position and intelligence. Yet it was the great Radical philosopher, John Stuart Mill, who wrote "that people must be considered unfit for more than a limited and qualified freedom who will not co-operate freely with the law and the public authorities in the repression of evil-doers."

Reference has been made in Chapter V. to the

land revenue system, and it remains here to observe that, owing to the extension of railways and irrigation, the position of the agricultural classes has greatly improved during the last fifty years, and sales of land for the recovery of revenue have progressively and continuously declined. Such are now far more frequent in native States like Baroda, which is frequently put forward by uninformed critics as an example to British India.

Increase in the assessment, upon which hostile comment has been made, is accompanied by a greater additional increase in cultivation. For instance, in the Punjab, while the land revenue has risen by 80, the cultivated area has been augmented by 100, per cent.

It may seem strange to those who have grown accustomed to the confident statement that in India the population already presses upon the cultivable area to learn that in some provinces the cultivable area has increased in recent years by 100 per cent. But, as a fact, India is by no means an over-populated country. Of the actual area of British territory —615,332,755 acres—less than two-thirds are cultivated. Under forest there are 82,282,579 acres, while 153,526,525 acres are uncultivable or appropriated to other uses. There remain 379,523,551 acres which are suitable for cultivation, and of this area 210,883,511 acres were actually cropped last year. The rest is divided between fallows—

55,351,706 acres — and good land suitable for cultivation, to the respectable total of 113,288,344 acres.

The land settlement of the Emperor Akbar, at once the most lenient and able of the Great Moguls, was based on a demand by Government for one-third of the gross produce of each field, while the present settlement in the Punjab represents from one-tenth to one-fourteenth of the gross produce, and everywhere all over the country land lets for a far higher rent than the Government assessment. The executive measures taken by the British Government to protect the tenants of the Bengal landlords, as a result of which, there is reason to believe, many of the latter have joined the Congress movement, have done them no injustice, for their gross rental has increased four- or five-fold since the settlement of Lord Cornwallis, who had intended, though he failed, to protect the position of the tenant.

In the interests of the cultivators, although the rules and regulations may, and sometimes do, press hardly upon them, the Government of India has instituted a systematic conservancy of the forests, which are now worked with the object of combining facilities for their use by the public with such protection as is necessary for their preservation as sources of fuel and timber, and retainers of moisture in the soil. Forests are accordingly now classified

as reserved, protected, and unclassed according as the control of the Department is more or less complete. Under the last-named head indeed is included uncultivated land, more resembling the Scotch deer forests than what is commonly signified in England by the word forest. The reserves, however, in which fires are prevented, and plantation and reproduction are regularly undertaken, already cover upwards of 90,000 square miles, besides which there are 150,000 square miles of State forests, part of which will sooner or later be brought within the reserved area, and all of which is worked for the benefit of the people, and of the public revenue. Outside the reserves, the country folk are able to obtain from the State, free of charge, timber, firewood, and grass, while inside the reserves special licences are required, subject, however, to the recognition of all rights formally recognised at the time of the first settlement.

A gross revenue of upwards of £1,725,000 is raised by the sale of, or by royalties on, timber and other produce, and by the issue of permits for grazing, or for the collection and sale of forest produce, while the nett revenue amounts to upwards of three-quarters of a million sterling.

The salt tax, against which complaints are made more by professional agitators than by the people who pay it, has been levied from time immemorial, and is in fact the only impost collected from

natives of India who neither hold land, litigate, drink liquor, nor smoke opium. Indeed the annual incidence of this tax is no more than 2½d. per head of the population. Salt, moreover, is now cheaper than it has been at any previous period in Indian history, the tax having been reduced in 1907 to one rupee or 1s. 4d. per maund of 82 lbs., while the average annual consumption of this necessary of life is 12 lbs. per head, or double what it was fifty years ago.

Customs duties in India are imposed for revenue only, and with no protective purpose. In 1893, owing to the heavy loss sustained by Government in consequence of the fall in exchange, it became necessary to re-impose the general duty of 5 per cent. on imports, from which cotton piece goods and yarns were exempted. Three years later these products were also subjected to a duty of 3½ per cent., a countervailing excise being imposed on similar goods manufactured in the Indian mills, in order to deprive the tax of a protective character.

It is this position which makes India a counter in the present controversy regarding the respective merits of Free Trade and Tariff Reform, and it is true that the members of the Governor-General's Legislative Council who voted for the countervailing excise duty, of whom the writer was one, consented thereto because of the necessity of

maintaining in our greatest foreign possession a general adherence to that system of Free Trade which still obtains, and then obtained unchallenged, in the United Kingdom.

It is a short way from customs to excise, and it is not a little strange to read criticisms made in this comparatively hard-drinking country, upon the increase in the amount of revenue collected under this head in India, from one of the most sober populations in the world. Consequent upon the improvement in wages and in the general condition of the classes which consume intoxicating drinks, they are able to spend much more than they spent fifty years ago, and at the same time to pay, as they do, a proportionately far higher excise duty on what they consume than they formerly paid. In fact the greater part of the increase in revenue is due to higher taxation under this head, and to the suppression of illicit distilleries. Nevertheless it will take many reports such as that presented upon the liquor problem in Southern Nigeria to persuade intemperate advocates of temperance that the British Government did not introduce liquor into India, and is not living in a great measure upon gains ill-gotten by its sale.

Indirect but valuable evidence of a general advance in material prosperity is afforded by the fact that India contains 160,000 miles of postal

routes, and 70,000 post-offices, while annually over 800,000,000 letters and packets pass through the Postal Department, which also manages 8000 Savings Banks, in which £10,000,000 are deposited, and issues money orders to the respectable total of £25,000,000 a year. Again, there are 69,000 miles of telegraph wires, over which 12,000,000 messages annually pass, and 7000 telegraph offices.

The expenditure on education has increased from £250,000 in 1858 to £4,000,000 in 1907, and criticisms directed against the alleged inadequacy of this amount wholly ignore the relative conditions of England and India, and absurdly adopt the former, as a standard of comparison for the latter, country. No figures are available in respect of other Asiatic administrations, but it is extremely unlikely that any other can show anything like such satisfactory figures, and can compare in this respect with our own record in India.

The public debt amounts to £246,000,000, of which £177,000,000 have been incurred for railways, and £30,000,000, as elsewhere stated, for irrigation works. As interest on the two latter portions of the debt is charged against the services concerned, which both show large profits, no charge for interest in this behalf falls upon the taxpayer. Apart from these remunerative services the debt of India is only £38,000,000, or little more than half

one year's revenue, taking the annual income at £72,000,000. These are facts which more than justify the statement of Lord St. Aldwyn, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the revenues of India are in better condition and better managed than those of the United Kingdom. Indeed to say this is to rate far too high the management of our finances in Great Britain, which is adversely affected by political and party considerations, from which India is happily exempt.

On the 1st of April 1909, no less than 30,983 miles of railway had been opened, which carried during the year 330,000,000 passengers and 64,000,000 tons of goods, the rates charged being as low as $\frac{1}{5}$d. a mile for passengers, and under $\frac{1}{2}$d. a ton per mile for goods. The railway administration gives employment to 525,000 persons, of whom over 508,000 are natives of India, and the country saves £100,000,000 per year, when the cost of the railway service is compared with that of the previously existing wretchedly inadequate, terribly slow, and appallingly expensive methods of transit.

The last-mentioned calculation does not, however, include the benefits afforded by the railways in preventing famine and improving trade, and in adding to the strategic strength of the country. The capital outlay under this head is £274,000,000, and the nett earnings in 1908 were 4.33 per cent.

on this amount, as against an average of 3¼ per cent. profit on the capital invested in the British lines.

It is, of course, impossible to compare the amount of the capital expenditure on railways with that devoted to irrigation, because the extent of land capable of irrigation at a remunerative outlay is strictly limited, while there is hardly any limit to the degree to which railways may be usefully constructed. Nevertheless the Government at present contemplates an expenditure of some £30,000,000 sterling on further irrigation works. These are of two kinds, canals and tanks, the former of which are cut off from great rivers, which, having their origin in high mountain ranges, even in time of drought possess an unfailing supply. Such rivers have been utilised with most successful results, and upon the most extensive scale, in the Punjab, the United Provinces, and the Madras Presidency. Tank irrigation is generally chiefly dependent upon the local rainfall, or upon comparatively small streams, which run dry in time of drought. In the Madras Presidency alone there are no less than 60,000 such tanks, most of which, dating from the time of native Indian rule, have been considerably improved by the British Government. Though called by the commonplace name of tanks, they are in fact beautiful lakes, and a most pleasing feature in the landscape.

In addition to these two methods of irrigation, wells are very extensively used in some parts of India, and cultivators can obtain funds for sinking such upon very favourable terms from Government.

In the fifty years which have elapsed between 1858 and 1908, the value of imports and exports of merchandise have increased from 25 and 14 millions sterling respectively, to 115 and 86 millions sterling; that is to say, the volume of trade has more than quintupled, and the external land trade has more than doubled, while great cotton spinning, weaving, jute, and coal industries have been born, and have attained a healthy adolescence.

Cottage industries, of course, fell before the impact of machine-fed competition from Europe, but new manufactures appeared at the same time in India, and up till the present day they increase and multiply. Sir Theodore Morison, an eminent authority, has calculated that in a single generation the rate of increase has been in cotton manufactures 400, in jute 500, and in woollen weaving 50 per cent., while the output of coal has multiplied ninefold, gold sixfold, petroleum thirtyfold, and manganese seventyfold. It was the late Mr. Justice Ranade, one of the Indian reform party, who wrote that the transformation of India from a purely agricultural to a partly trading and manufacturing country had begun.

The cultivation of tea and coffee has also made great strides. There are under tea 536,000 acres, upon which upwards of half a million labourers are employed, and the produce of which is not less than 230,000,000 lbs. per year, valued at nearly £7,000,000 sterling. India has become the chief tea-producer of the world, and further recognition than has yet been accorded is due to the planter, as a pioneer of a great industry, a generous employer of labour, and a valued auxiliary of his fellow-countryman, the British administrator.

Reference has been made in previous chapters to the condition of the people and the state of agriculture; but in view of the fact that the Bengali agitators assert that the people of their own, are more prosperous than those of any other, province, it may be worth while to remark that while in the Punjab, United Provinces, Bombay, Madras, Burma, and Assam, profits on agriculture are chiefly reaped by a prosperous peasantry, who cultivate the land for themselves, it is in Bengal and, it is true, some parts of the United Provinces, that most of the profits of agriculture are collected by the landlord. Indeed in Bengal pressure of population and competition for land have forced up rents, so as to leave only a bare margin of subsistence for the tenant of a small holding.

But how different the condition of even the agriculturists of Bengal from that of cultivators in

the time of the Emperor Aurangzeb, "when blood flowed in rivers, and the dead were unburied, when millions died of famine; and fathers" (probably as humane and affectionate as they are in the present day) "were driven by hunger to sell their children, but were forced to go without food, finding no one to buy them." These are the words of the contemporary writer, Nicolai Manucci, a perusal of whose fascinating description of life under one of the greatest of the Great Moguls, throws a flood of light upon the vexed question whether there ever was a golden age in India, and whether the inhabitants were then happier, or at any rate had more reasons for being happier, than they are at the present time.

The average native of India of to-day consumes more salt, sugar, tobacco, and other luxuries than his predecessor of fifty years ago, and he eats more food, and lives in a more comfortably furnished habitation. House-to-house inquiries have revealed these facts, which are on record for all who want true statements and not inaccurate criticisms.

Again, in the past fifty years India has absorbed an average of £126,000,000 a year of the precious metals, an infallible proof of improved circumstances. The professional classes certainly enjoy better incomes than they did, and the same may be said without contradiction of those employed in the

Government service, while the tenant, as a result of our legislative enactments, possesses an increased share of the profits of agriculture. The landless or labouring classes are fewer relatively than they are in Britain, and the wages of skilled in a large, and of unskilled labour in a fair, measure, have advanced in a greater ratio than the simultaneous rise in the price of food. Labourers in years of ordinarily good harvests are not hard pressed; but when prices rise they undoubtedly suffer, and but for the system of famine prevention described in Chapter IV., would succumb in large numbers, as they did in the good old times before the advent of the British administration, which is as fertile in benefits to the peoples of India as it is unwisely patient of misrepresentation at the hands of seditious agitators, who delude the ignorant masses of the people.

Such are some, and only a few, of the salient features of the prodigious improvement effected in the condition of the Indian peoples in the short period of half a century, and surely it is a classic instance of the irony of history that a few denationalised agitators can instil into the minds of our people, ever easily misled and prone to harsh criticism of their own servants in foreign lands, doubts as to the benevolent intentions and triumphant achievements of their fellow-countrymen in India.

Lord Morley, in one of his speeches lately, published in a little volume, which it is sincerely to be hoped will replace the speeches of Burke as a classic in India, says the presentation of the Indian Budget in 1907 was almost, if not quite, the first occasion upon which the British democracy in all its full strength has been brought directly face to face with the difficulties of Indian government in all their intricacy, all their perplexity, all their subtlety, and above all their enormous magnitude. He told that Parliament, in which, to a previously unparalleled degree, Indian affairs became the plaything of irresponsible and ill-informed politicians, that for a long time to come, so far indeed as his imagination could reach, India would be the theatre of absolute and personal government. No other form of rule has indeed hitherto succeeded in the East. Experiments made in Turkey and Persia are of too recent date, and have been by no means completely successful, so that it is altogether too early to say that they are any exception to the general rule. Indeed, Lord Minto, in his speech at the first meeting of the enlarged Legislative Council, said, "We have aimed at reform and the enlargement of our Councils, not at the creation of Parliaments."

Lord Morley, who admits that he was an impatient idealist, and that he has even now some sympathy with that temperament, to possessors of

which, as he says, many of the most tragic miscarriages in human history have been due, no sooner had practical and first hand experience of the Government of India, than he arrived at precisely the same conclusion as that at which half a century earlier John Stuart Mill arrived.

Mill, with no little study and experience of Indian affairs, saw that Britain was becoming increasingly democratic, was convinced from his extensive historical studies that no democracy could govern a dependency with probity and wisdom, and regarded with apprehension the prospect of Indian affairs coming within the sphere of party intrigue and Parliamentary interference. It was he who ably vindicated the rule of the East India Company, and drew up a memorandum of the improvement in the administration of the country made in the thirty years preceding its transference to the Crown. In this able State paper he claimed and proved that the more attention was bestowed and the more light was thrown upon India and its administration, the more evident it became that the Government of that country had been not only one of the purest in intention, but one of the most beneficent in act, ever known among mankind, and he dwelt upon the happy independence of the administration from Parliamentary influence and control. He made no scruple of avowing his opinion that democracy must come to grief in attempting to

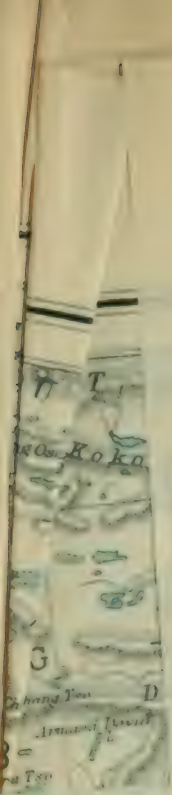
govern India, and the experience of the last Parliament, in which a small group of sentimental and theoretical politicians devoted themselves to opposing the Government of India in respect of the by no means too stringent measures it took for the repression of sedition, affords better proof than has hitherto offered of the justification of his case and of his unfavourable forecast. The fact is that democracy in Britain has hardly yet found its feet, and already India is a plank in the platform of the Labour Party, which is itself all unwittingly the cat's-paw of the Congress Party in India. The Brahmin agitators on the banks of the Ganges, who regard the masses of their fellow-creatures as hardly human, have joined hands with the delegates of the Trades Unions and the Socialist apostles of theoretical equality at Westminster. This was not foreseen by Mill, in whose case, however, experience did attain to something of prophetic strain, and surely such a phenomenon is another, and one of the most significant, of the ironies of history.

The conclusion at which Mill arrived, and which Lord Morley evidently shares, is that adopted by almost every person possessing any practical acquaintance with the government of Orientals by European races. It is not a comforting conclusion, but it may be that since the fulfilment of Mill's prophecy has been delayed for half a century, a saving

common-sense may be infused into the representatives of British democracy before our Empire as a whole comes into collision with a great and growing rival, and before our Indian Empire is destroyed by endeavours to govern its multitudinous millions after a fashion more or less suited to the inhabitants of these small Atlantic islands.

Signs are not wanting that the hold of sentimental altruism and doctrinaire philanthropy upon the British electorate is for the time being, at any rate, much weakened, and the Viceroy, Lord Minto, not, it may quite safely be assumed, without the approval of Lord Morley, has admitted, just as these pages go to print, that the British administration has from a chivalrous unwillingness to interfere in any form with freedom of speech tolerated too long the dissemination of revolutionary literature. An Act has now been passed containing more drastic provisions than those of Lord Lytton's Press Act, which was unfortunately repealed, since which the unbridled licence of the vernacular newspapers of Bengal and the Deccan, passing all bounds and secure from all interference, has brought the administration into contempt. Repressive measures passed into law in the last four years, and held in reserve, are also being brought into force, and unless the hand at the helm falters, of which there is no sign, and of which, happily, there is no probability, the ship of State will be

brought safely into harbour, and the happiness of the great majority will not be sacrificed to the vague ambitions, ignorant ideals, and wholly unjustified discontent of a numerically insignificant minority of the inhabitants of India.



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